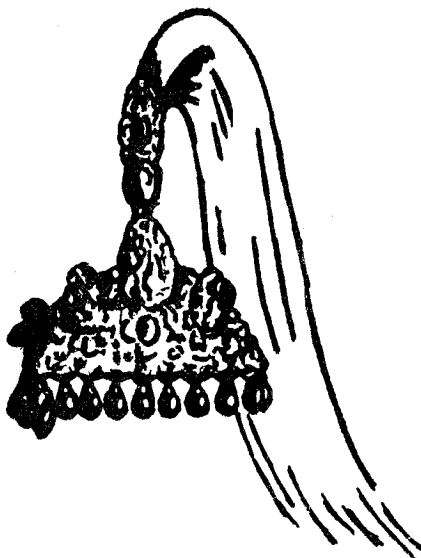


Vol.2 No.1 February 1975 (Phalgun 2031)

Contributions To Nepalese Studies

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Special Coronation Issue 2031



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KIRTIPUR.

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THE INSTITUTE OF NEPAL AND ASIAN STUDIES
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EDITORIAL

We are happy to devote this number of the Journal to marking the auspicious coronation of His Majesty King Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev which is to take place in Kathmandu on Phagun 12, 2030 (i.e. February 24, 1975). Nepal, to-day, is the only Hindu Kingdom in the world whose monarchical traditions go back to a dim past. The work of unification, leading to the creation of present-day Nepal, was begun more than two hundred years ago by the illustrious ancestor of King Birendra, Prithvinarayan Shah, and the destiny of Nepal ever since that time has been guided by the latter's successors in that line. King Birendra is the eleventh descendant of Prithvinarayan Shah and the tenth monarch to ascend the throne of Nepal. He succeeded his father as the king of Nepal in a brief ceremony held in the Hanuman Dhoka Palace on January 31, 1972, after the sudden and untimely death of his august father His Late Majesty King Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev. A fuller and complete ceremony to herald the reign of a new King in this country is marked by the coronation which is held at a suitable time and on an auspicious date, fixed by the royal astrologers, after a year's mourning for the departed king has been observed. The coronation is an occasion symbolising Nepal's reaffirmation of national unity, integrity and sovereignty by its people. The Institute for its part pledges, on this historic occasion, to serve the King and country with complete loyalty and dedication and to the best of its capacities. It would like to offer to their Majesties, King Birendra and Queen Aishwarya, hearty felicitations at this happy moment.

The Journal enters the second year of its publication with this number. So far the Journal has been well received by its readers both within the country and abroad. We are constantly pressed to make it into a quarterly and this we will surely do in due time. There is perhaps a feeling in certain quarters that a majority of the contributions to the Journal are the work of foreign rather than local scholars. But this situation cannot be merely wished away. A lot of ground-work is necessary before this picture can alter. However, local scholars do need a standard Journal in Nepal in which they can publish. The existence and the maintenance of such a Journal is a necessary pre-condition for the growth of scholarship. And our Journal will not develop with a view to imposing restrictions on the writings of foreign scholars. At present there is no dearth of space in the Journal for all of us: and we hope to continue to learn from each other in its pages. If more Nepalese scholars send us good material, the frequency of the Journal will be increased to absorb this creativity.

All forms of printing, including this Journal, have recently been faced with great difficulties caused by the scarcity of paper and the consequent price-rise. This is not a simple apology for the increased price of the Journal but a warning of more serious difficulties which may lie ahead for printing business as a whole in Nepal. We are confident that the government will find an effective solution to the problem, and give help to the University by providing it with a ready source of paper.

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राज्याभिषेकको ऐतिहासिक महत्त्व

धनवज्र वज्राचार्य

राज्याभिषेक-परम्पराको जग वैदिक कालमै रहिसकेको थियो । त्यस बेलादेखि यसको क्रम निरवच्छिन्न रूपमा चलेको पाइन्छ । नेपालको इतिहास केलाएर हे-याँ भने लिच्छवि-कालदेखि अहिलेसम्म यसको परम्परा अटूट रूपमा चलिआएको हामी पाउँछौं । राजा र प्रजाको बीचमा रहेको आत्मीयता, सद्भावना आदिको अभिव्यक्ति राज्याभिषेक-परम्परामा रहेको छ । यस दृष्टिले यसको ऐतिहासिक महत्त्व ठूलो रहेको छ ।

हिन्दू-परम्परामा "अभिषेक" को महत्त्व उल्लेखनीय रहेको छ । कुनै पनि व्यक्ति कुनै उच्च पदको योग्य ठहरिएपछि तिनलाई त्यसको अभिषेक दिने चलन धार्मिक द्वात्रमा समेत प्रचलित थियो; अहिलेसम्म केही अंशमा प्रचलितै छ । कति धार्मिक सम्प्रदायमा योग्य व्यक्ति-लाई कुनै पदमा आसीन गराउन पहिले अभिषेक दिइन्छ; अनि मात्र ऊ त्यस पदको अधिकारी ठहरिन्छ । उदाहरणार्थ धार्मिक सम्प्रदायमा "आचार्य" कान्दा योग्य व्यक्तिको चयन गरी अभिषेक दिने विधानलाई अत्याउन सकिन्छ । यस्तो अभिषेक-विधानको उल्लेख धार्मिक ग्रन्थमा पाइन्छ ^१ ।

यति कुरा गनिको तात्पर्य अभिषेक गर्नु भन्नु अर्को शब्दमा योग्य व्यक्तिको चयन गरी त्यस पदमा विराजमान गराउनु भन्ने हो भने पनि हुन्छ ।

वैदिक वाङ्मयमा उल्लिखित राज्याभिषेक सम्बन्धी वचन र विधानहरू केलाई हे-याँ भने यसमा राजाप्रति जनताद्वारा हार्दिक आस्था र सद्भावना प्रकट गर्ने तरिका रहेको स्पष्ट देखापर्छ ^२ । साथै गद्दीनशीन राजामा जनताको रक्षा आदिको अभिभारा वहन गर्ने दायता बढोस् भन्ने प्रार्थना पनि त्यसप्रसङ्गमा गरिन्छ । यसरी राज्याभिषेक-पद्धति राजार प्रजामा आत्मीयता, सद्भावनाको अभिव्यक्ति गरिने माध्यम जस्तो हुँदा यस पद्धतिको महत्त्व "संघराज्य" पद्धतिअनुसार शासन चलाउनेहरूमा समेत रहेको थियो । यसको उदाहरण लिच्छवि वृजिक, मल्ल, शाक्य आदि संघराज्य शासनपद्धतिका अनुयायीहरूको शासनपद्धतिमा स्पष्ट पाइन्छ । वैशालीमा लिच्छविहरूको संघात्मक शासन चलेको थियो । बूढा, तरुना सबै लिच्छविहरू राजपदको लागि उमेदवार हुन सक्तथे । सो पदको लागि कानिएपछि राज्याभिषेक राजोचित ढङ्गले धूमधामसँग हुन्थ्यो । अभिषेकको लागि एक भिन्नै पोखरीको निर्माण गराई राखिएको हुन्थ्यो । सो "अभिषेकमंगलपोखरणी" को समेत ठूलो महत्त्व हुन्थ्यो । राजपदका लागि निर्वाचित लिच्छविबाहेक अरू कसैले त्यस पोखरीमा नुहाउन पाइदैनथ्यो । सो पोखरीलाई चारैतिर फलामको बार लाएर सुरक्षित पारी हरदम पालो-पहरा दिई राखिन्थ्यो । एक पटक एक मल्ल सेनापतिकी पत्नीलाई सो "अभिषेकपुष्करिणी" मा नुहाउँ भन्ने "दोहद" (दोजिया हुँदा हुने इच्छा) पैदा भएक र जबर्दस्ती सो दोहद

२ आइ. एन. ए. एस. जर्नल

पूरा गराउंदा दुइ राज्यको बीच ठूलो काण्ड मचेको कुरा भदसालजातकमा परेको छ ^३ ।

यस परम्परामा रहेका लिच्छविकहरूले नेपालमा पनि राज्याभिषेकलाई विशेष स्थान दिएको देखिन्छ । यसमा जनताले पनि आस्था दशिएको बुझिन्छ । अब यस विषयको कुराको चर्चा गर्नुभन्दा पहिले नेपालमा राजा र प्रजाको सम्बन्ध कुन रूपमा विकसित भएको थियो भन्ने कुराको अलिकता चर्चा गर्नु आवश्यक देखिन्छ । अनि मात्र राज्याभिषेकको ऐतिहासिक महत्त्व बढी स्पष्ट देखापर्नेछ ।

प्राचीन कालदेखि आधुनिक कालसम्म नै नेपालको इतिहासमा राजा र प्रजाको सम्बन्ध आत्मीय भावनाले ओतप्रोत, परस्परमा स्नेह र सद्भावनाले पूर्ण रहेको पाइन्छ । हाम्रो यहाँ राजा र प्रजामा शोणक र शोणितको अवस्था प्रायः कहिले पनि पैदा भएन भन्न सकिन्छ । यसलाई नेपालको इतिहासको महत्त्वपूर्ण पक्षको रूपमा लिन सकिन्छ । लिच्छविकालका वा त्यसभन्दा पछिका जति व्यवस्थाप्रधान सनद शिलापत्रहरू प्राप्त भएका छन्; तिनमा प्रजालाई मर्का परेका कुराहरूमा मर्का फोड्नदिएको उल्लेख मात्र पाइन्छ; प्रजालाई जकड्न वा शोषण गर्न लागू गरिएको व्यवस्थाको उल्लेख प्रायः पाइँदैन; यो विचारणीय छ । लिच्छविकालका प्रमुख शासकहरूले प्रजाहित नै हाम्रो कर्तव्य हो भन्ने कुरा धेरै अभिलेखमा व्यक्त गरेका छन् ^४ । कर माफी स्वशासनको अधिकार सुम्पनु आदि कार्य गरी घोषित कुराको पुष्टि उनीहरूले गरेको देखिएको छ ।

अर्क विचारणीय कुरा राजा र प्रजाको सम्बन्ध पिता र पुत्रको जस्तो हुनुपर्छ भन्ने शास्त्रीय विचार धाराको अनुसरण गर्ने कुरामा लिच्छविकालका शासकहरूले विशेष दृष्टि दिएको हामी पाउँछौं । साथै प्रजापक्षले पनि उक्त कुराको पालन गरेको अनेक उदाहरण पाउन सकिन्छ । लिच्छविकालका प्रसिद्ध राजा मानदेवले केलटोलको अभिलेखमा राजा र प्रजाको सम्बन्ध पिता र पुत्रको जस्तो हुनुपर्छ भन्ने विचारधाराको स्पष्ट शब्दमा अनुसरण गरेका छन् ^५ । विचारार्थ त्यस अभिलेखको एक वाक्य यहाँ उद्धृत गरिन्छ ।

“शुद्धात्मा प्रकृतेः पितेव दयते श्रीमानदेवो नृपः”

(चोखो मन भएका राजा मानदेव दुनियाँलाई बाबुले जस्तै मर्ना गर्नुहुन्छ ।)

यसबाट लिच्छविकालका शासकहरू राजा र प्रजामा बाबु र छोराको जस्तो सम्बन्ध राख्न चाहन्थे भन्ने थाहा पाइन्छ । यही विचारधारा अनुसार राजा र प्रजाको सम्बन्ध व्यावहारिक रूपमा पनि पक्सिमम पनि केही अंशमा त्यस अनुरूप नै थियो । यस प्रसङ्गमा कान्तिपुरका प्रसिद्ध राजा महेन्द्रमल्लले बाँधेको स्थिति स्मरणीय छ ^६ । प्रजा छोरा समान हुनाले सारा प्रजाले नखाई राजाले खाए सो पक्कै भन्ने धारणाले निश्चित समयभित्र प्रजाले खाइसक्नुपर्ने स्थिति उनले बाँधेथे । केही गरी कुनै टोलका प्रजा भोकै रहे सो टोलका नाइकेलाई दण्ड गर्ने कुराको उल्लेख पनि सो स्थितिमा परेको छ । किनभने आफ्नो टोलका कुनै व्यक्ति पनि काम नपाई भोकै नपर्नु भन्ने कुराको देखेर गर्ने अभिभारा नाइकेको हुन्थ्यो । यसै गरी

कुनै प्रजाको मृत्यु भयो र सो मूर्दा उठाउँदा बजाएको बाजाविशेषको आवाज राजाको कानमा प-यो भने त्यस दिन राजाले निराहार बस्नुपर्छ भन्ने अनुश्रुतिले ^७ पनि राजा र प्रजाको आत्मीय सम्बन्धलाई दर्शाइरहेको छ ।

प्रजालाई सम्बोधन गरी राखिएका शिलालेखहरूमा जुन किसिमको शिष्टाचार शैली प्रयुक्त भएको छ । त्यसले पनि राजा र प्रजाको आत्मीय सम्बन्धलाई व्यक्त गरेको पाइन्छ । सो शिष्टाचार शैली अनुसार राजाबाट "मलाई कुशलमङ्गल छ, तिमीहरूको पनि कुशल मङ्गल चाहन्छु भनी लेखेर मात्र अरू सम्बद्ध कुराहरू लेख्ने चलन लिच्छविकालमा थियो । जस्तै

... महाराजश्रीवसन्तदेवः कुशली जयपल्लिकाग्रामे निवासोपगतान् ... साष्टादश-
प्रकृतीन् कुशलम्पृष्ट्वा समाज्ञापयति ^८

मध्यकालका अभिलेखमा शब्दमा केही अन्तर आएको छ तापनि मूल भावनामा अन्तर आएको थिएन । राजाले प्रजाको नाउँमा लेखिएका पत्रको शुरूमा "शुभ विचार" भनी लेखेर मात्र अरू कुरा लेखिन्थ्यो ^९ यसको अभिप्राय तिमीहरूको शुभ होस्, तिमीहरूलाई दुःख कष्ट नआइपरोस् भनी मैले हेर विचार पु-याई राखेको छु भन्ने हो । आधुनिक कालमा पनि "हहाँ कुशल, ताहाँ कुशल चाहिँ" आदि लेखी पूर्वपरम्परालाई कायम राखेको पाइन्छ ^{१०} ।

यसै गरी जनताले धारा पाटी बनाउँदा, देवतास्थापना गर्दा राखेका अभिलेखमा प्रायः गद्दीनशीन राजाको शय वर्षभन्दा बढी आयुहोस्, राज्यको बढिबढाउ होस्, राजाको विजय होस् भन्ने आदरयुक्त आत्मीयता प्रकट गरिएको पाइन्छ ^{११} । लिच्छविकालदेखि हालसम्मका पनि अभिलेखमा यस किसिमको उदाहरण पाइन्छ । हाम्रो राष्ट्रिय गानमा यस्तै भावको अभिव्यक्ति भएको छ ।

हाम्रो यहाँ राजा र प्रजाको यस किसिमको सुमधुर सम्बन्ध हुनाले राज्यभिषेकको ऐतिहासिक महत्त्व स्वतः बढी रहेको स्पष्ट छ ।

लिच्छविकालका अभिलेखबाहेक अरू टिपोट गरिएका विवरण वा हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थ, तात्कालिक वंशावली आदि नपाइएका हुनाले लिच्छविकालको राज्याभिषेकको विशेष वर्णन हामी पाउँदैनौं । तर राज्याभिषेक धूमधामसँग हुन्थ्यो भन्ने संकेत भने अभिलेखबाट पाइन्छ । यस विषयमा केही प्रकाश अंशुवर्माको हाँडिगाउँको अभिलेखबाट पर्छ ^{१२} । राजदरबारका जागीरदारहरूले दर्शन भेटको रूपमा बुझाउनुपर्ने "मर्यादापण" को निर्धारण गर्दा त्यहाँ लिच्छविकालको राजदरबारसम्बन्धी निकै कुराको उल्लेख संक्षिप्त रूपमा परेको छ । जस्तै- राजदरबारमा इष्टदेवता, कुलदेवता, षाष्ठीदेवता आदिका मन्दिर हुन्थे; अग्निशाला हुन्थ्यो आदि कुराको चर्चा र तिनले पाउने मर्यादापणको चर्चा त्यसमा परेको छ । साथै गद्दीनशीन राजा र राजपरिवार आदिले पाउने मर्यादापणको निर्धारण पनि त्यहाँ गरिएको छ । त्यसै प्रसङ्गमा "अभिषेकहस्तिनः पु ३ प १ आमणोकाश्वस्य पु ३ प १" अर्थात् राज्याभिषेकको हात्तीलाई तीन पुराण र एक पण, राज्याभिषेकको घोडालाई तीन पुराण

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र एक पण भाग नियत गर्नु भन्ने उल्लेख त्यस अभिलेखमा परेको छ । यसबाट लिच्छविकालमा राज्याभिषेक गरिँदा सिन्दूरजात्रा गरिन्थ्यो भन्ने स्पष्ट थाहा पाइन्छ । किनभने राज्याभिषेकपछि जनतालाई दर्शन दिन हात्ती चढी नगरको परिक्रमा गर्नु भन्ने वचन धर्म-शास्त्रहरूमा पाइन्छ-^{१३}

“ आरूह्यालङ्कृतं नागं विसृजन् धनसञ्चयम् ।

प्रदद्याणिकृत्य पुरं प्रविश्य च पुरं गृहम् ।”

राज्याभिषेकको उपलक्ष्यमा चढिएका हात्ती, घोडाको समेत विशेष सन्मान रहन्थ्यो भन्ने कुरा हाँडिगाउँको उक्त अभिलेखमा ती हात्ती घोडालाई पक्षिसम्म पाउने गरी सन्मान-साथ “मयादापण”तोकेको हुनाले थाहा पाइन्छ । यसबाट लिच्छविकालमा राज्याभिषेकको महत्त्व ठूलो थियो भन्ने स्पष्ट संकेत पाइन्छ ।

यसबाहेक लिच्छविकालका अभिलेखमा राज्याभिषेकको अरू विवरण नपाइए पनि त्यस बेला राज्याभिषेक वैदिक परम्परा अनुसार हुन्थ्यो भन्ने कुरामा शङ्का छैन । किनभने लिच्छविकालका शासकहरूले वैदिक सनातन परम्पराको अनुसरण गरेको अनेक प्रमाण पाइन्छन् । मानदेवको केलटोलको अभिलेखमा उनको वर्णन गर्दा “तेनेदं श्रुतिधर्मशास्त्रविहितां धर्मक्रियाङ्गुर्वता” अर्थात् वेद र धर्मशास्त्रले बताए अनुसारको धर्मकर्म मानदेवले गर्ने गरेका थिए भन्ने स्पष्ट उल्लेख गरिएको छ ^{१४} । अरू अभिलेखबाट पनि लिच्छविकालका शासकहरू वैदिक परम्पराको अनुसरण गर्दथे भन्ने सिद्ध हुन्छ । हाँडिगाउँको अनुपरमको प्रसिद्ध स्तम्भलेखमा वैदिक परम्पराको जोडदार समर्थन गरिएको छ ^{१५} । यसो हुनाले ब्राह्मण ग्रन्थमा उल्लिखित विधान अनुसार लिच्छवि-कालमा राज्याभिषेक गरिन्थ्यो भन्ने देखिन्छ । वर्णव्यवस्था अनुसारको समाजको मुख्य जग पनि वैदिक कालमै रहेथ्यो । लिच्छविकालका शासकहरूले वर्णव्यवस्थालाई सर्वात्मना मान्यता दिएथे । विशेष गरेर अंशुवर्मा र उनीपछिका शासकहरूले त “अनतिवृत्तार्यमयादासेतु” “सम्यग्विरचितसकलवर्णाश्रमव्यवस्थ” “सुविहितवर्णाश्रमस्थिति” आदि भनी स्पष्ट शब्दमा वर्णाश्रमव्यवस्थामा जोड दिई लेखेका छन् ^{१६} ।

सङ्घराज्यको परम्परामा रहँदा खेरि नै लिच्छविहरूले राज्याभिषेकलाई ठूलो महत्त्व दिएको देखिएको छ । नेपालमा त लिच्छविहरूले राजतन्त्रपद्धतिकै अनुसरण गरेको कुरा अभिलेख-बाट थाहा पाइन्छ । यसो हुँदा पनि उनीहरूले वैदिक परम्पराअनुसार राज्याभिषेक गरेको कुरामा शङ्का छैन ।

मध्यकालमा आएर नेपालको राजनैतिक र धार्मिक अवस्थामा अलि अन्तर आयो । यसो हुनाले राज्याभिषेक पद्धतिमा पनि केही अन्तर देखाप-यो । मध्यकालको पूर्वार्द्धमा पुष्पाभिषेक र पट्टाभिषेक विधान बढी प्रचलित भए । गोपालवंशावलीमा पुष्पाभिषेक गरिएका राजा-हरूको लामो सूची परेको छ । विचारार्थ तिनको अलिकता अंश यहाँ उद्धृत गर्नुपरेको छ ।

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अभिषेकचाहिँ यस वेला पनि धूमधामसंग नै गरिन्थ्यो । युवराजको अभिषेक समेत धूमधामसंग गरिएको उल्लेख पाइन्छ ^{१६} । देशविदेशका राजाहरू निमन्त्रित गरिन्थे । नाच गान साथ जनताले पनि उत्सवमा भाग लिन्थे ।

पगरी लाइदिएर गरिने "पट्टाभिषेक" चाहिँ जनताको प्रार्थनाअनुसार एकै राजाको पनि ठाउँ ठाउँमा बराबर पनि गरिन्थे । राजा जयदेवको "पट्टबन्ध" उत्सव यसरी जनताद्वारा ठाउँ ठाउँमा भिन्नाभिन्नै गरेको, जनताले ठूलो हर्ष र उत्साहसाथ त्यसमा भाग लिइएको वर्णन गोपालवंशावलीमा परेको छ । विचारार्थ यसको अलिकता उद्धरण यहाँ दिनुपरेको छ ।

स ३७४ अशुनि कृष्ण द्वितीया अश्विनि हर्षनि, आदीतवार ग्वल्म् ढँक आदिन पाटाबन्ध श्रीजदेव रायस, उदयात्प घटि ६, राजसामग्रीसमूहढोत । सुनोलापत्रकुत्रः हीरा-धारकुत्र-हकनकुत्र । कनकदण्डकुत्र । शीहध्वज । ढोक २ खिजा २ तव काहलपा १६ ट्वाक काहल २४ कुत्रघर ३ गुरिक्केश राजासन खण्ड खण्डागाह ल्हाय । पाटका टाये ---

सं. ३७६ द्विराणाढ शुक्ल द्वादशी श्रीजयदेव राज मर्नटुठिस पटाबन्धन विधिविधान । नही प्याखन मात्र ---

थ्वया सम्बक्क श्रावण शुक्ल द्वादशी श्रीजयदेव राजसवु सन्दलस पटाबन्ध जुरोम् ।

(३६ पत्रबाट)

मध्यकालको उत्तरार्धमा आरर अफ परिस्थिति अलि बदलियो । यस वेला अनेक साना साना राज्य खडा भए । यसो हुनाले राज्याभिषेक धूमधामसंग गर्ने पहिलेको परम्परा यथावत् कायम हुन सकेन । परिस्थिति हेरी राज्याभिषेक संदिप्त वा विस्तृत रूपमा गर्ने अनुमति शास्त्रकारहरूले पनि दिएका हुँदा यसताका राज्याभिषेक संदिप्त रूपमा मात्र गर्ने चलन चल्यो । मध्यकालको पूर्वार्धमा लोकप्रिय रहेको पुष्पाभिषेक अब प्रचलित रहेन । राज्यारोहण र राज्याभिषेक पृथक् पृथक् नगरी एकै पटकले काम चलाएको देखिएको छ । साथै अभिषेक विधानमा यसताका राजतिलक विधानले महत्त्व बढी पायो । विचारार्थ यस कुराको केही उदाहरण यहाँ दिनुपरेको छ ।

स्थितिमल्लपक्षि पुरानो संयुक्त शासनपद्धति फेरि लागू गरियो । उनका तीनै छोरा धर्ममल्ल, ज्योतिर्मल्ल, कीर्तिमल्लहरू राजा घोषित गरिएका थिए । यदामल्लपक्षि भक्तपुर, कान्तिपुर, ललितपुर राज्य खडा हुँदा पनि संयुक्त शासनपद्धति केही अंशमा कायम रह्यो । यसरी संयुक्त शासन लागू भए तापनि राज्याभिषेक गर्दा जेठा छोरालाई नै मूलगद्दीमा राखी अभिषेक गर्ने चलन चलेको देखिन्छ । यस कुराको पुष्टि प्रतापमल्लको मृत्युपक्षिको घटनाबाट हुन्छ । प्रतापमल्लको अन्तिम समयमा उनका गद्दीका हकदार तीन जना राजकुमार थिए । कान्छा महीपतेन्द्रमल्ल उनका विशेष मन परेका हुनाले मेरो मृत्युपक्षि उनलाई गद्दीमा राख्नु भन्ने व्यवस्था उनले मिलाएका थिए । तर उनको मृत्युपक्षि उनले चिताए जस्तो भएन ।

[illegible]

पांचे मासि शिवोत्तरे सुग्रीवे इत्येवमपि श्रुते ।
 मन्त्राणां च निष्ठा स्मरितेति चेत्पुनरपि सूक्तानि श्रुते
 योगे राक्षसा तथा गिरिगणानां देवदेवो महादेवः ॥
 छन्दोगादपि च विदुस्तथा च स्यात्तदर्थोक्तं
 सत्त्विकसामान्यं च विदुस्तथा च स्यात्तदर्थोक्तं ॥

- ২৮ - এই সকল ক্ষেত্রে প্রযোজ্য আইন। এই ক্ষেত্রে

ឆ្នាំ | ខែ | ថ្ងៃ | ពេលវេលា | កន្លែង | ស្ថានភាព | បញ្ហា | ការដោះស្រាយ

1 02 20 14221815

[illegible]

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सर्वतोभद्र मण्डप बनाई कृत्र चंदुवासहित सिंहासन तयार गरियो । आफ्नै मनमा विचार गरी काम गर्न जान्ने राजा श्रीनिवासमल्ल ठूलठूला पण्डितबाट भएको यो तयारी आदरपूर्वक हेरी चूप लागेर बस्नुभएको थियो ।

सूर्यवंशको असल कीर्ति तथा सिद्धिनारसिंहमल्लको धैर्य र ठूलो ऐश्वर्यलाई मनमनै विचार गरी नेपालेश्वर श्रीनिवासमल्ल राजाले त्यही दिन योगनरेन्द्रमल्ललाई खुशीसाथ आदरपूर्वक राज्याभिषेक गराउनु भयो ।

भाषावशावलीमा पनि योगनरेन्द्रमल्लको राज्याभिषेकको वर्णन परेको छ -

“... संवत् ८०५ पौष कृष्ण ५ बृहस्पतिवार हस्तनक्षत्र सुकर्मा योगका दिन योगनरेन्द्रमल्लकन सुवर्णादि कलश स्थापना गरी राज्याभिषेकको विधि पु-याई राज्याभिषेक दिया ।”

यी उल्लेखबाट र राज्याभिषेकसम्बन्धी मल्लकालका अरू विवरणबाट यसताका राज्यारोहण र राज्याभिषेक पर्याय जस्तै बनेका थिए; राज्यारोहण र राज्याभिषेक भिन्नै गर्ने चलन यसताका थिएन; मध्यकालको पूर्वार्धमा प्रचलित “पुष्पाभिषेक” पद्धति पनि यसताका हराइसकेको र संज्ञाप्त राज्याभिषेक पद्धतिले स्थान पाएको स्पष्ट देखिन्छ ।

आधुनिक काल वा शाहकालमा आएर राज्याभिषेक पद्धतिमा अलि अन्तर आयो । यस वेला मध्यकालमा प्रचलित पद्धतिको अनुसरण नगरी धर्मशास्त्ररूपमा बताइएका विधिअनुसार राज्याभिषेक गर्ने चलन चलाइयो । यसको शुरू शायद द्रव्यशाहको राज्याभिषेक (वि. सं. १६१६) देखि भयो कि भन्ने देखिन्छ । अब अवस्था हेरी राज्यारोहण र राज्याभिषेक भिन्नाभिन्नै गर्ने पद्धतिको पनि अनुसरण गरियो; ब्राह्मण क्षत्री वैश्य शूद्र चारै वर्णको प्रतिनिधिद्वारा अभिषेक गराउने विधान पनि चालू गरियो । साथै अभिषेक, पट्टबन्धपक्षि सिन्दूर जात्रा गरी नगर परिक्रमा गर्ने परिपाटी पनि चालू गरियो । मध्यकालमा तान्त्रिक प्रभाव बढेको हुँदा राज्याभिषेकको विधिविधानमा जुन अलि अन्तर देखापरेको थियो; अब आधुनिक कालमा आएर त्यसको ठाउँ फेरि सोभै वैदिक परम्पराले लिइएको देखिएको छ । हाल राज्याभिषेक जसरी सम्पन्न गरिन्छ; त्यसमा वैदिक परम्पराको कृप स्पष्ट देखापर्छ ।

यसरी समय समयमा बदलिँरहने भावना र परिस्थिति अनुसार राज्याभिषेक विधानमा केही परिवर्तन देखापरेको छ तापनि राज्याभिषेकको मूल आदर्श बदलिएको पाइँदैन । यस परम्पराको मूल जगमा राजा र प्रजाको परस्परको आत्मीय भावना, आस्था र स्नेहको अभिव्यक्ति रहेको छ भन्ने कुराको चर्चा शुरू गरिसकिएको छ । यस दृष्टिले राज्याभिषेकको ऐतिहासिक महत्त्व ठूलो छ भन्ने कुरा स्पष्ट छ ।

टिप्पणी

- १। उदाहरणार्थ हेवज्जतन्त्रको "अभिषेक पटल"लाई देखाउन सकिन्छ ।
- २। वीरमित्रोदय, राजनीतिप्रकाश ६ भाग, चोखाम्बा संस्कृत सीरीज, बनारस, पृष्ठ ४२-५८
- ३। धनवज्र वज्राचार्य, "लिच्छविकालको शासनपद्धति" पूर्णिमा २१ पूर्णाङ्क ० संशोधन मण्डल, काठमाडौं, वि.सं. २०२६, पृष्ठ १-२
- ४। धनवज्र वज्राचार्य, "लिच्छविकालका अभिलेख" त्रि.वि. नेपाल र एशियाली अध्ययन संस्थान, काठमाडौं, वि.सं. २०३०, पृष्ठ ३२१, ३३६
- ५। "लिच्छविकालका अभिलेख" पृ. ७१-७२
- ६। योगी नरहरिनाथद्वारा सम्पादित "दिव्य उपदेश"को परिशिष्ट, वि.सं. २०१६ पृष्ठ २२-२३ ।
- ७। यस चलनले गर्दा मल्ल राजाहरूले धेरै पटक निराहार बस्नुपरेको हुनाले राजदरबार इलाकाबाट मूर्दा लैजान नपाउने बन्धेज बांधियो भन्ने कुरा बूढापाकाहरू अहिलेसम्म भन्दैछन् ।
- ८। "लिच्छविकालका अभिलेख" पृष्ठ ६१
- ९। धनवज्र वज्राचार्य + टेकबहादुर श्रेष्ठ, "दोलखाको ऐतिहासिक रूपरेखा" त्रि.वि. नेपाल र एशियाली अध्ययन संस्थान, वि.सं. २०३१ पृष्ठ १६५, १६६
- १०। धनवज्र वज्राचार्य + ज्ञानमणि नेपाल, "ऐतिहासिक पत्रसंग्रह" पहिलो भाग, नेपाल सांस्कृतिक परिषद्, काठमाडौं, वि.सं. २०१४, पृष्ठ १६, २३
- ११। "लिच्छविकालका अभिलेख" पृष्ठ ६७, १६८, १७५, ४२६
- १२। "लिच्छविकालका अभिलेख" पृष्ठ ३०१, ३०२
- १३। वीरमित्रोदय, राजनीतिप्रकाश, पृष्ठ ४६
- १४। "लिच्छविकालका अभिलेख" पृष्ठ ७१-७३ ।
- १५। "लिच्छविकालका अभिलेख" पृष्ठ १५८-१६२
- १६। "लिच्छविकालका अभिलेख" पृष्ठ ३०६, ३११, ५१६, ५३०
- १७। "पूर्णिमा" १४ पूर्णाङ्क ० संशोधनमण्डल, काठमाडौं, वि.सं. २०२४, पृष्ठ १३०-३१
- १८। वीरमित्रोदय, राजनीतिप्रकाश, ११२-११४
- १९। पूर्णिमा ७ पूर्णाङ्क ० संशोधनमण्डल, वि.सं. २०२२, पृष्ठ २२-२३
- २०। पूर्णिमा १ पूर्णाङ्क ० संशोधनमण्डल, वि.सं. २०२१, पृष्ठ १६-१७
- २१। यो व्यासफू लेखको संग्रहमा क ।
- २२। धनवज्र वज्राचार्य "योगनरेन्द्रमल्लको राज्याभिषेक" पूर्णिमा ६ पूर्णाङ्क ०, संशोधन-मण्डल, वि.सं. २०२२, पृ. २१

The Tea Shop as an Arena of Ethnic Interaction In Nepal

April M. Putnam

The tea shops lining the feeder roads to Narayangad, Chitwan District's main bazaar town, provide an excellent arena for observing interaction between the different caste/ethnic groups that comprise the multi-ethnic population of the Rapti Valley resettlement area. The tea shop is at once a place for relaxation and refreshment, a forum for discussions ranging from local gossip to world affairs, and a place to conduct business. Low status castes may be restricted access to certain areas of the tea shop, but they are not excluded altogether. Since tea at least is virtually neutral in terms of ritual purity, all caste/ethnic groups will drink tea prepared by any "touchable caste" (Nepali: paani chalne jaat). Nor is lack of money a bar since no purchase is necessary and many people seek only a drink of cool water and a seat in the shade. Tea shops thus witness a daily mingling of people from a wide variety of economic and caste/ethnic backgrounds.

The description of a particular tea shop will provide the physical setting in which to visualize the behavior patterns and conversations discussed below. This tea shop, a primarily wood structure with gaps filled in with odd scraps of woven matting, has a half loft providing sleeping space for travelers, and measures roughly 20 by 30 feet. It is somewhat larger than the average village tea shop and its five tables can seat between 20 and 25 people. It is owned and run by a Gurung couple in their mid-thirties who live with their five sons in a small concrete building, once intended to be a cloth store, which forms one wall of the tea shop. The tea shop "household" at one time included a male Brahmin cook in his fifties, a Chyame (low status Newar caste) woman of 45 who cleared tables and washed dishes, her husband and a Chepang male of about 20, both of whom combined agricultural day labor with odd jobs around the tea shop. After seven months at the tea shop the Brahmin cook quit and was replaced by the owner's 20 year old unmarried niece. The tea shop is located on a main feeder road in a small bazaar adjacent to a new agricultural college about 10 miles from the district center. Available food includes: two complete rice meals daily, meat (chicken, wild bird, fish, buffalo) several times a week, tea, milk, bread, chiura (flattened roasted rice), vegetable curry, curd, eggs and raksi (Nepali rice wine).

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The Brahmin cook was hired shortly after the opening of the nearby agricultural college in order to attract Brahmin and Chhetri students. These people, who come primarily from the Terai regions of Nepal and are called madeshi by the local people, were thought to be rather strict about traditional ritual purity/pollution restrictions--particularly in regard to accepting rice from other castes. However, when the Brahmin cook quit and was replaced by a Gurung girl only five of the twenty meal contract students left, and they were quickly replaced by others. The five who left hired a small Brahmin boy to cook for them in their rooms. While the Brahmin cook was working in the tea shop a number of special arrangements for food preparation were made. Vegetables were often peeled and chopped by the Gurung owners but all cooking of rice, vegetables, dhal and acchar was done by the Brahmin as was most of the serving. Meat was cooked by the Gurungs on a small coal stove reserved for that purpose off to the side of the main chulo (Nepali wood-burning stove made of mud-plastered stone or brick), and was ordinarily not served to anyone at the same table as a non-meat eater. These practices were dropped when the Brahmin cook left and it became obvious that the madeshi students were less particular than the local Brahmins and Chhetris who generally limit their consumption to ritually "neutral" foods such as tea, chiura, curd, bread (baked in a commercial bakery in Narayangad) and biscuits when eating in a non-Brahmin tea shop.

The spatial dimension of purity/pollution restrictions, especially as regards untouchable castes (Nepali: paani na chalne jaat), can also be observed in the tea shop. Members of castes such as Kami, Sarki and Damai are tacitly restricted to one table immediately inside the main entrance; in some other shops to a bench under the eaves just outside the entrance. If this table is already occupied untouchables will drink their tea standing up, even if other tables are unoccupied. Untouchables unfamiliar with the tea shop remain standing until their tea is brought and the cook either motions them to sit down at a certain table or simply puts their tea there. Untouchables selling loads of wood are told to put down their loads just outside the tea shop door, while touchable castes are instructed to carry their loads through the tea shop and add them to the wood pile in back.

Individual untouchables make minor deviations from the general pattern above with no apparent adverse reaction. For example, a certain Damai tailor always goes to the cash box located in the middle of the shop to pay. Other untouchables, including this man's brothers, always pay while seated at their allotted table or while standing in the doorway. No one ever indicated verbally or otherwise that he should not be allowed there. It seems that spatial restrictions rely for their maintenance, at least in part, on selfmonitoring by the untouchables themselves.

Untouchables are also expected to wash their own glasses and dishes with water poured by the cook. These dishes are cleared

along with other dirty dishes by the Chyame woman who takes them out back to wash. The chyame woman is not allowed within 3 feet of the chulo which makes the clearing of one table and the storage of cleaned dishes rather difficult. Clean dishes are placed on a center table by the Chyame woman then transferred to shelves behind the chulo by the cook or the owners. Such awkward situations are avoided in other tea shops where the dishwashers are either family members or people of caste/ethnic groups nearly equal in ritual status with the owners'.

Patterns can also be discerned in the spatial distribution of other groups in the tea shop but are much less clear-cut. For example, on brisk winter mornings people delivering milk (Gurung, Brahmin and Newar) squat on the floor around the chulo to get warm. Other people who avail themselves of this privilege are the meal contract students, the Gurung and Tamang men who play cards with the owner, and a number of relatives. Other members of these same caste/ethnic groups who do not have such regular social or economic contact with the owners are rarely seen near the chulo. Untouchables and deshis (all Indians are called deshi in this area, they are primarily semi-skilled seasonal laborers from Bihar) are never seen near the chulo, although deshis can and do sit at any table in the shop. It is not uncommon for the tea shop owners to demand to see their money first before serving anything to deshis or untouchables. These two groups do not have the option, as do other groups, of working off the price of a cup of tea by washing out a few dishes. Whenever possible deshis avoid sitting at the same table with Nepalis and vice versa. Tharus seem always to sit as close to the entrance as possible and leave as soon as they've finished their tea.

Keeping in mind these behavioral expressions of ethnic interaction in the tea shop let us turn now to people's perceptions of ethnically ascribed similarities and differences as revealed in their conversations. Resettlement areas such as the Rapti Valley bring together peoples of diverse caste/ethnic identity as well as representatives of regional variations within each caste/ethnic group. People are curious about their various types of neighbors and are concerned with how their own group fits into the local social and economic hierarchy. It is not surprising then that many tea shop conversations reflect this interest and concern, ranging from discussions of the "new Nepal" where all castes will be equal, to a sharing of information on one's own and others' castes, to ethnic stereotypes and jokes expressing an underlying competition and hostility between different groups.

1

Changes in the accepted modes of ethnic interaction are often a source of contention between the generations as shown in the following conversation between a group of older men (50 to 60 years old) and two young men (20 to 25 years old) sitting in a Gurung tea shop:

Two older men, one Tamang and the other Gurung, were discussing how young boys no longer care for their religion or their caste--they eat from the hands of untouchables and marry outside their caste. They were interrupted by a young Tamang man who said, "why shouldn't we do these things? Everyone bleeds when they are cut, all are the same. Only skin color is different". The elder Tamang replied that while things might be clear to the young people he found all the changes puzzling. Changes in everything, even the clothes people wear. When he was a boy only lahures (soldiers) wore pants, now even the small boys do. Another old Tamang joined in, "nowadays the young men will marry even a Kami, Damai or Sarki girl, if only she is beautiful. They don't need their religion, only beauty". The old Gurung added that Brahmins are now marrying Gurung, Tamang and Chhetri girls and other castes do the same. He complained that the educated boys and girls married whoever they pleased no matter how much their parents protested. They want to live separately from their parents and will not obey them even though these parents went to a lot of trouble to educate them. "They make their parents stupid". The young Tamang replied, "how should you obey your parents, by carrying them on your back?" He was interrupted by a young Gurung who said in a conciliatory tone, "listen, not only the young people have changed. You men also wear pants now because the fashion has changed. So many things have changed since you were young". The young Tamang spoke up again to declare his intention of marrying a girl of another caste. An older Gurung jokingly said the boy would probably marry a Kami or Damai girl since so many pretty ones lived near his house. The general laughter was cut by the serious tone of the old Tamang man as he said, "listen, whatever you do don't marry an untouchable". The Young Tamang conceded he would probably marry a Touchable caste girl, but went on to say that in a few years this untouchable system would be fully abolished. As the group broke up and moved out of the tea shop an old Gurung said, "gradually all the old ways will be lost".

Immediately apparent is the shared belief that change has and will continue to occur and that the older generation feels powerless to prevent this change however they may dislike it. It should be noted however that of all the households in the panchayat where these people live, only 3% include a cross-caste marriage. All of these cross-marriages involve touchable castes. Many young people talk about marrying out of their caste but few in fact have done it. Eating with untouchables is increasingly common among young people of touchable castes, particularly those with a high school education, but the food is almost never prepared by an untouchable. The Gurung's comment that Brahmins marry out of their caste and others do the same, implies the commonly expressed view that the Brahmins' laxity in following their traditions has led other groups astray by setting a bad example.

ii

The following brief example is typical of the use of ethnic stereotypes in a humorous exchange of insults:

A local "taxi" broke down in front of a Gurung tea shop and after some time the Brahmin driver/owner and his Gurung assistant came in for tea. Soon they were arguing about the broken down vehicle. The Brahmin told the Gurung helper, "you're a sheep, no wonder you couldn't fix the motor". The helper answered back, "anyone who wears a buffalo's intestine can't know more than I do". He went on to say, "Brahmins' brains have been affected by all the wine and chicken they eat nowadays". They finished their tea and as the Brahmin rose to leave he called to his assistant, "come sheep, and learn how to fix a motor by watching me".

The reference to sheep means "stupid as a sheep" and is part of the standard stereotype of Gurungs as honest and stupid (sometimes phrased "too stupid to be dishonest"). The buffalo's intestine mockingly refers to the sacred thread, symbol of ritual superiority worn by Brahmins and Chetris, and is a commonly used epithet. Groups such as Gurung, Tamang, Newar, etc. often accuse Chitwan Brahmins of eating meat and drinking wine while continuing to deny it publicly and criticising those who do. The humorous mood was sustained throughout the exchange with the speakers themselves joining in the general laughter that followed each verbal salvo. Joking of this type is not uncommon and occasionally becomes an escalating exchange of insults in which hostilities emerge and serious accusations of misbehavior are made. An example of this is the following exchange among a group of men (2 Brahmins, one Gurung, and one Magar) playing cards in a Gurung tea shop:

The Magar discarded the joker by mistake and did not realize it until the Brahmin next to him picked it up. The Magar said, "don't take that, I threw it by mistake, give it to me". The other Brahmin said, "you fool, why did you throw it? Really, Magars and Gurungs are idiots and fools". The Gurung jokingly replied, "you can't say that, Gurungs are not as before. Never say such things to Gurungs because now we can compete with you greedy Brahmins". The Brahmin who had picked up the joker laughed and said, "no, you can never match the Brahmins". The other Brahmin told them to quiet down and play cards. The Magar angrily burst out, "Brahmins are exploiters". When the Brahmin looked at him sharply the Magar said, "don't cry Daangre. You Brahmins are like Daangre and never tire of making noise". The Brahmin had no chance to reply because at that moment his father came in and asked him if he intended to play cards all day when he should be home working.

A Daangre is a bird similar to a mynah, known for it's raucous cries, and is sometimes considered a sorcerer's familiar. One Brahmin and the Gurung attempted to keep things on a humorous level but the Magar was genuinely upset and his comments were not meant as jokes.

iii

Interest in other groups and their customs generates the sharing of information about one's own and other groups as indicated in the following two examples.

A Gurung tea shop proprietress commented to another female Gurung that there was no point in their going to the nearby Tamang argun (2 to 3 day Buddhist ceremony for the deceased) the next day since Tamangs, unlike Gurungs, have no dancing at their arguns. Her friend agreed and added that it wasn't very interesting to watch lamas just sit and chant. A Tamang male seated at a nearby table joined in the conversation by saying it was true that Tamang lamas do not dance during argun, nor do they have sergo (dance done by laymen) like the Gurungs. But if the women wanted to see dancing they should come the following evening, after the ceremony itself was finished when there would be hours of singing and dancing.

Apart from the comparison of customs, this example also reminds us that people do attend other groups' ceremonies and have a first hand chance to note differences in behavior patterns.

Three Gurung young men were sitting in a tea stall when one of them commented on two Tharu girls walking past the tea shop, calling them "black beauties". Another of the young men pointed out they were unmarried, explaining he could tell this because the girls' arms and legs were not tattooed as is the custom among married Tharu women. He went on to favorably describe some aspects of Tharu village life, especially their egalitarian nature. Even a haruwa (a landless laborer attached to a particular landholder) could through hard work buy land and become an important zamindar (landlord). The first young man asked what the difference was between Tharus and Darais, saying that they seemed the same to him. The other replied that the two groups are vastly different. He said the Tharus came from India and the Darais from the hills of Nepal, being called Kumal in the hills and Darai in the Terai. He also noted that the women wore different colored clothes and each group had its' own style of singing and dancing.

The young Gurung describing the Tharus and Darais to his friends has lived near a Tharu village for some 10 years. His proposed origins for the two groups might be contested by scholars (see Bista: 1967: pp. 118-133). It should also be mentioned that his comments, like those of most people living near a Tharu village,

were either neutral or favorable. People who lack such close contact on the other hand are quick to stereotype Tharus as semi-civilized jungle dwellers.

These few examples should give some idea of the scope of conversations dealing with ethnic topics. The variations are of course almost endless when it is considered that conversation content is influenced by the relative ages and education backgrounds of the speakers as well as the presence or absence of a member of the group being discussed.

Migrants to a multi-ethnic resettlement area like the Rapti Valley must adjust to a new social environment as well as to a physical environment usually quite different from their birth place. The tea shop is one public arena for the continuous process of inquiry, accomodation and confrontation between members of different groups.

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Patterns of Education and Literacy In A Village Panchayat of Central Nepal

Tod Ragsdale

Introduction

Some sixteen years ago, when an old adage that schools in Nepal are as scarce as snakes in Ireland was often taken as literal truth, Bernard Pignède made the somewhat remarkable discovery that in relatively isolated Dansing-Mohoriya village some eighty percent of the Gurung men from nineteen to eighty were literate. Eight percent of the women also could read and write. The latest national census in 1954 had shown the corresponding figures for the country as a whole to be eight percent and seven-tenths of a percent (Pignède. pp. 66-68). Even in 1971 they were respectively still only twenty-four percent and four percent.

The village school was then only two years old, and the young teacher who had come from Kathmandu to staff it had left it sitting empty after six months. The high rate of literacy was all the more impressive because Gurungs speak a Sino-Tibetan language. The men had been taught to read Nepali, which is Indo-Aryan, the official language of Nepal. Ironically, this was done while they served in "foreign" armies, those of the British and Indians¹.

Pignède observed that literacy in Nepali seemed to follow a "downward filtration". Those who received no direct training, mostly women and children, seemed to pick up basic literacy skills as if by osmosis from the army veterans. Pignède observed children composing letters for the fun of it, as "play".

It would be good to speculate that Pignède's findings might apply throughout the Gurung community, at least from the standpoint of government efforts to promote general welfare through public education schemes or in the context of national integration. But generalization is impossible, for statistics are not collected on the basis of ethnicity, and detailed census figures at the village level are inaccessible.

To provide at least a partial check on Pignède's high evaluation of literacy among the Gurungs, I have outlined some of the main patterns of education and literacy in a village panchayat with a Gurung population some three times that of his. In order to do this I conducted, with the help of panchayat ward members, a census of my own at the beginning of 1974. The figures represented in this paper, being the results of an on-going research project, cannot be taken as final. But the over-all patterns seem quite clear, and hopefully information will come to light which will enable us to speculate on how general these patterns are--not only among Gurungs but among other ethnic groups with a high proportion of men in military service.

The Village Panchayat

The Village Panchayat lies approximately six miles north east of Pokhara town in Kaski District. As with most villages in Nepal, the only way to reach it is by foot, and this involves a climb of about two thousand feet and from three to five hours. According to my census the population is just over two thousand. Its inhabitants share the distinction of being "rural" with ninety-six percent of Nepal's population

The Village Panchayat is not a "village" but an arbitrary entity created for formal administrative and political purposes. It is made up of eleven main settlements, five of which are nuclear villages of thirty to fifty houses. The settlements are scattered along ridges over an area approximately four square miles and at heights between four and six thousand feet.

Gurungs make up about sixty-three percent of the population, between twelve and thirteen hundred people. They are divided socially into endogamous groups, "Four Caste" and "Sixteen Caste". The former are often hierarchically ranked Ghale, Gothane, Lama and Lamichane; but villagers generally say that whoever has the numerical superiority has the most power and prestige. Locally it is lamas. They are four hundred people comprising six *khalak*, or separate family lineages. Half of these belong to one family which has dominated the history and politics of the Village Panchayat for two hundred and fifty years since two brothers migrated to the area from western Kaski. They fought as far as the Punjab with the Shah armies and later served the Subbas of Ghanpokhara, a Gurung family which dominated the region's salt trade for many years (c.f. Messerschmidt).

In the past, Sixteen Caste Gurungs were socially inferior, and this was signalled by their exclusion from all but one of the nuclear villages, to the lower and more remote parts of the Panchayat. Opportunities arising from military service have tended to homogenize wealth and status among the Gurungs, however, and men of this group now live in homes indistinguishable from those of their Four Caste neighbors². In the Village Panchayat the Sixteen Caste, with a population of two hundred, are a small minority among Gurungs, and without such access to outside military employment it is hard to see how they could have improved their position so dramatically.

The approximately seven hundred non-Gurungs are mostly low caste who play an important part in the economy of this rural Panchayat. They are field laborers for Gurung families whose sons are employed elsewhere, and they are artisans whose skilled workmanship ought to belie their low, untouchable status. There are as well Ghartis who, though slaves before 1926, are technically "clean" and may enter the homes of Gurungs for whom they work as servants and field workers. There are Brahmans, for the most part poor, and few Magars, Tamangs and Chetris make up the rest of the population.

There seems to be a great economic cleavage between Gurungs and others living in the Panchayat. Some idea of this may be had by comparing the percentage of the total population of each group to the percentage of productive land held by each³:

	<u>Population</u>	<u>Land Owned</u>
Gurung	63%	85%
Kami	18%	4%
Damai	8%	5%
Brahman	7%	4%
Sarki	2%	1%
Gharti	1%	.2%
Chetri	.5%	.04%
Magar	.5%	.2%
Tamang	.3%	-

'If the quality of the land were taken into account, the Gurungs, who own the rich ricelands near the rivers, would seem to be even wealthier in comparison to the others. If one considers army pensions, gold owned, loans let out, and investments in business and--as will be seen--in education, the Gurungs seem very wealthy indeed. This is not to say their wealth is legendary, but the average Gurung might well be called "a yeoman of some substance". (Ministry of Defence. p. 49).

Education

Many traditional Gurung institutions functioned to keep wealth circulating through their community (c.f. Macfarlane. Chapter 18). One of these was the Rodighar, a kind of youth club for which the Gurungs have become well known. In a recent article Ellen Andors very neatly brought out a kind of distinction between this traditional institution and modern education. She summarized a meeting attended by headmen of several villages in Lamjung in 1951:

Young people, instead of attending school or paying attention to other serious matters, were spending their time in the rodi house and wasting money and resources in feasts and celebrations, rather than investing them into more profitable channels. At this time, ...the headman made it compulsory for all children to attend school and for adults to attend night school (Andors. pp. 19-20).

Education as a kind of "investment" is different then from the Rodighar which, though perhaps an important and valuable means of socialization in an essentially egalitarian society, tended to be "wasteful". In the Village Panchayat I am describing, though not in Lamjung, the Rodighar has for many years been defunct as an organized institution. The two primary schools built in 1956 and 1957 have, on the contrary, become an established part of life.

Their registration books for the last ten years show the names of virtually all the Gurung boys and half the Gurung girls, though actual attendance was rather less than this. Three years ago a middle school was built, which makes it now possible to study locally through the seventh grade. Thetar (Andors: p. 17) has replaced Rodighar for entertainment. Also called "Drama", it provides a show for others who then pay for their enjoyment. Fittingly, the rehearsals are often held in the schools⁴.

Based on my census, the following tables describe school attendance for different "generations". In the census only five individuals before dropping out attended school for less than the three years presently required for primary education. Overall, relatively few left school with less than the five years formerly required. What is described here is "solid" attendance which should have, by present definition, led to basic literacy. I include children presently attending in the lower grades, because the national census apparently includes them in its published literacy figures (Nepal, 1974. Table 7). Also, judging from past attendance, most of them will complete three grades⁵.

ATTENDED/ATTENDING SCHOOL⁶

6-19 Years

	Male			Female		
	Total	Schooled	Percent	Total	Schooled	Percent
Gurungs	198	139	70%	184	53	29%
Non-Gurungs	116	42	36%	121	1	1%
(Kami)	(46)	(12)	(26%)	(51)	(-)	(-)
(Damai)	(29)	(13)	(45%)	(35)	(1)	(3%)
(Brahman)	(27)	(13)	(48%)	(22)	(-)	(-)
(Gharti)	(6)	(2)	(33%)	(4)	(-)	(-)
(Sarki)	(4)	(1)	(25%)	(5)	(-)	(-)
(Magar)	(1)	(1)	(100%)	(2)	(-)	(-)
(Others)	(3)	(-)	(-)	(2)	(-)	(-)
Total	314	181	58%	305	54	17%

ATTENDED/ATTENDING SCHOOL⁶

29-30 Years

	Male			Female		
	Total	Schooled	Percent	Total	Schooled	Percent
Gurungs	195	105	54%	180	22	12%
Non-Gurungs	105	1	1%	102	-	-
(Brahman)	(19)	(1)	(5%)	(21)	(-)	(-)
(Others)	(86)	(-)	(-)	(81)	(-)	(-)
Total	300	106	35%	282	22	8%

40 Years Plus

	Male			Female		
	Total	Schooled	Percent	Total	Schooled	Percent
Gurungs	184	1	.5%	181	-	-
Non-Gurungs	68	-	-	78	-	-
Total	252	1	.4%	259	-	-

Summarizing the above, half of the Gurung children have attended school. About a third of the young adults have, and only one man over forty has.

Eighteen percent of the non-Gurung children (6-19 years) had formal education, and only one young man (20-39 years) has been to school.

For the Village Panchayat as a whole, formal education is virtually unknown for those over forty. Twenty-two percent of all younger adults and thirty-eight percent of the six to nineteen year olds have been to school.

Only Gurungs have educated their daughters, almost thirty percent of the youngest generation (6-19 years) and twelve percent of the next oldest (20-39 years). The lone exception among non-Gurungs is a Damai girl who recently transferred to the third grade of one of the village primary schools. She had attended school in India where her father was serving in the military.

The group with the highest percentage of its members having education is Gurung males six to nineteen. Fully seventy percent are in school now or have had three years or more schooling. Next highest, with fifty percent, are young adult Gurung males (20-39 years).

If education figures were expressed as land holding has been, Gurungs, who are sixty-three percent of the total population, are ninety percent of the schooled population. This still holds true if one looks at only the youngest generation (6-19 years); despite the many more non-Gurungs attending school nowadays, Gurungs are eighty-two percent of the schooled though only sixty-two percent of the age cohort.

As I am only trying to separate the component of basic literacy, which is directly attributable to formal education, I have not here separated numbers of children currently attending school from the total cohort. These statistics are at the end of this article in brief appendices. Nor have I discussed the levels of education obtained by villagers. But it is worth noting that there is as yet no one from the Panchayat with a Bachelor's degree.

There are six IA degrees equivalent to two years of college, all belonging to members of the Lama family mentioned earlier.

There are thirteen high school degrees, SLCs⁸. Almost all of these are male Gurungs in their twenties and thirties. Only a few are Gurung women, of the same age group. Many more Gurungs have studied through secondary school without obtaining degrees. All have had to go outside the Village Panchayat for higher secondary education, some eleven percent of the youngest generation having attended schools in Pokhara, India or, in a few cases, Kathmandu. Two Brahmans have studied as far as the secondary level without obtaining degrees, and none of the lower castes have gone beyond five years of primary education.

Literacy

The following tables illustrate the relationship between basic literacy achieved through formal education, through military education, and through other means. Here too I have broken the information into different "generations":

BASIC LITERACY

6-19 Years

	Male			Female		
	Total	Literate	Percent	Total	Literate	Percent
<u>Gurung</u>						
Schooled		(139)		(53)		
Other		(4)		(-)		
Total	198	143	72%	184	53	29%
<u>Non-Gurung</u>						
Schooled		(42)		(1)		
Other		(1)		(-)		
Total	116	43	18%	121	1	1%
TOTAL	314	186	59%	305	54	17%

20-39 Years

	Male			Female		
	Total	Literate	Percent	Total	Literate	Percent
<u>Gurung</u>						
Schooled		(105)		(22)		
Army		(45)		(-)		
Other		(15)		(9)		
Total	195	165	85%	180	31	17%
<u>Non-Gurung</u>						
Schooled		(1)		(-)	(-)	
Army		(7)		(-)	(-)	
Other		(7)		(-)	(-)	
Total	105	15	14%	102	-	-
TOTAL	300	180	60%	282	31	11%

40 Years Plus

	Male			Female		
	Total	Literate	Percent	Total	Literate	Percent
<u>Gurung</u>						
Schooled		(1)		(-)		
Army		(60)		(-)		
Other		(37)		(3)		
Total	184	98	52%	181	3	2%
<u>Non-Gurung</u>						
Schooled		(-)		(-)		
Army		(1)		(-)		
Other		(4)		(-)		
Total	68	5	7%	78	-	-
TOTAL	252	100	40%	259	3	1%

Summary

	Male			Female		
	Total	Literate	Percent	Total	Literate	Percent
Gurung	577	403	70%	545	87	16%
Non-Gurung	289	64	22%	301	1	.3%
<u>Total</u>	866	466	54%	846	88	10%

From figures given so far it can be deduced that whereas only twenty-one percent of all villagers over six years of age have had formal education, thirty-two percent are literate⁹. And though eleven percent of non-Gurungs are literate, only seven percent have schooling. Among Gurungs themselves the comparable figures are twenty-nine percent with schooling and forty-four percent literate. That is to say, fifteen percent of all Gurungs over six have learned to read and write without attending school.

Closer examination shows that military service is responsible for most of the literacy not attributable to schools. Altogether one hundred and five Gurung men and seven non-Gurung men appear to have become literate due to service in the military. The educational slack which the army takes up is great enough so that while more Gurung children are attending school than ever before, the literacy rate for the middle generation of Gurung men (age 20-39) is actually greater, a total of eighty-five percent.

In the Village Panchayat about half of all Gurung men over twenty have at some time or other entered the military. Obligatory for all these men would have been approximately three months of class-work termed 'Third Class' military education. This is supposed to lead to basic literacy in Roman script in the British army and in the Indian and Nepalese armies to literacy in the Nagary script as well¹⁰. Simple math, some geography and history, and a bit of preliminary English or Hindi make up the rest the coursework.

Perhaps half of the men repeat these subjects at a higher level, taking the "Second Class" education required for Lance-Naiks; and a third might reach the "First Class" level qualifying them for advancement to a junior commission, though only a few of those educated this far would achieve this rank.

Not all men who have served in the army retain literacy; or so it would appear from the census. Thirty-five men were listed as illiterate despite military service. This may be due to oversight when collecting the data, and further questioning may determine if and why this is so.

Fifty men entered upon military life after receiving schooling, and according to informants education is becoming a much greater factor in recruitment¹¹. Just how recent such a development may be is seen in the following chart, which shows how many Gurungs of different ten year age cohorts have entered into an army career with or without prior formal education:

EDUCATION UPON ENTERING MILITARY

	Without Education	With Education
20-29 Years	18	40
30-39 Years	42	9
40-49 Years	42	1
50-59 Years	26	-
60 + Years	22	-
<u>Total</u>	140	50

Men now in their fifties were the honest and cheerful but "thick" Gorkhas popularized by John Masters, a former British officer who served during the Second World War with a battalion of Magars and Gurungs and later wrote about his experiences. Stories abound about the backwards hill peasant, "slow at book-learning", complaining about a headache after being kicked in the head by a mule which went lame afterwards, or about the soldier who was able to escape through the Burma jungles using a map of London as his guide, because "He does not think, cogitate--he will tell you shyly that he is not clever enough for that--but he bends facts, arguments, and logic to fit what he somehow knows is right" (Masters. pp. 71-75).

As Masters admits, such large generalizations were "vague and patronizing", but the humor in them did reflect a real situation in that Nepali recruits were virtually without education, and from a country which had for some time been cut off from main events of the outside world. In fact it was the hope and intention of the Rana government that Gorkhas serving abroad would remain without broader sophistication or learning, for they feared that "the veterans might bring modern ideas into their villages" Joshi and Rose. p. 52). Meeting veterans today one may doubt whether they

were ever really so "simple", but after talking with young men who have qualified for Sandhurst or have studied in colleges in Nepal or India before entering the military one cannot but feel that such stereotypes were fundamentally unfair then and totally untrue now.

Aside from formal schooling or military education there were in the Village Panchayat diverse roads to literacy. Fifty-three Gurung men and twelve women are listed as literate without any apparent formal training.

Among the non-Gurung population, twelve adult men achieved literacy by means other than schooling or the military. Half of these are Brahmans and probably received their education at a pathshala¹². None of the women are literate.

Two Gurung men studied in Buddhist gompas (monasteries) in Thak Khola, passing exams there which qualified them to combat witches and demons or to guide the spirit of a dead person through the illusions and snares which first meet him in the afterworld¹³. Although their studies were conducted in Tibetan, both men learned to read and write Nepali as well.

One middle aged Gurung woman who married into the dominant Lama family told me that she learned when she was a girl through paying attention to classes given her brothers by a Brahman brought from Kusma. One village headman attended a pathshala in a nearby village sometime during the first decade of this century. There, "The Brahmans learned raksas and Gurungs learned tamsuk", which is to say that the Brahman children were trained to eventually read the ancient Vedas in Sanskrit while Gurung youth learned the practical knowledge they would need to write such things as IOUs.

In the 1940's a pathshala was organized on the site of one of the present primary schools, and a Newar teacher was brought from Pokhara to teach during the winter months. Classes were in a rickety hut, and when the roof blew off the middle school recently one of the villagers was heard joking, "Now we've got our pathshala back".

The school was not really a pathshala. It would better be described as a "vernacular school". Such schools taught not in Sanskrit but wholly in Nepali and concentrated on quite basic learning. The locally organized vernacular schools were not counted in the data collected in 1954 by the National Education Planning Commission, because the nature of their program was "nebulous and varied" (Wood. p. 31). But by 1959 they probably still accounted for thirty percent of the primary schools in Nepal, and it has been suggested that they sowed the seeds for "a type of school that provided general literacy and common learning" (Ibid). The present Secretary of the Village Panchayat Committee, a man who also taught in the primary school, is a product of the vernacular school.

In the early fifties five families cooperated to bring a young Sherpa from Nainital in India to teach their children. The Gurung headmaster of one of the primary schools attended classes given by a middle aged Newar from Darjeeling. These were in his mother's village (her Maita) and were similarly sponsored by several families there¹⁴. It must have been difficult to tell much difference between this tutoring on a class basis and the vernacular school, but my impression is that such private tutors were for the relatively well off only, whereas this was not the case with the school organized by the community. At any rate, those who had private tuition in their homes invariably were able to afford formal education outside the village as well. Probably none, therefore, show up in my data as having gained their literacy without benefit of modern schooling.

As Pignede suggested, some learned to read and write through very casual contacts with returned veterans or other literate people. I know of one instance when not long ago a wealthy young Gurung who had his own education with one of the private tutors mentioned, and then at St. Xavier's in Kathmandu, spent long monsoon evenings teaching the boy who keeps his water buffalo. The boy, a non-Gurung who was then spending his days in field work, requested this so that he might better supplement his family's income by searching for work in India. The young Gurung's own father had had, when he was alive, a reputation for teaching as a kind of social obligation. Villagers remember several others who were also generous with their time and knowledge but never charged fees.

Lastly, in the early sixties and in 1971 campaigns were organized against adult illiteracy in the Panchayat. The earlier was under the local branch of the Nepal Woman's Organization and may have been a result of initial enthusiasm for the new panchayat system. The recent one received its impetus from the initiation of the New Education Plan, when the local schools were given slates, chalk, a lantern, adult literacy books, and one hundred rupees to conduct the campaign.

Three teachers divided the Village Panchayat among themselves in 1971 and conducted classes for three to four months at separate locations. The "night schools" were attended almost entirely by Gurung women, perhaps some ninety to one hundred in all. The official books were more civics texts than tools for achieving basic literacy, and one of the teachers found it more effective to teach simple math and Nepali from the inexpensive texts used in pre-school shishu class (see Appendix A and footnote No. 12).

Many who participated in these campaigns are not included in my data, because they are women who are married out of the Village Panchayat and thus were not included in the census (even when they spent much time at their maitas). It may also be that others were simply overlooked by the Gurung men who were responsible for obtaining and verifying the census information. More follow-up on the

results of the literacy campaigns may turn up more than the few Gurung women I have been able to account for. It is certain that throughout Kaski District their response to the campaign was strong, and in many villages the organization of these temporary schools was facilitated by being based on Rodhighars already in existence.

Reasons given by male informants for women wanting to become literate were varied: so that women would not have to share private matters written to them by their husbands serving abroad; so that different denominations of the new currency notes-- so similar looking--could be distinguished and ignorant women would no longer be cheated by shopkeepers.

In a Gurung village elsewhere in the district I observed several non-Gurung children who worked in Gurung households attending night class; but I am fairly certain that in this Village Panchayat no adult non-Gurungs attended any of the literacy classes, though they were mostly illiterate and their women were entirely illiterate.

Here it might be good to review some results of a study done a few years ago in a village panchayat in Kathmandu Valley. The authors found that whereas only twelve percent of the school age children were attending that panchayat's two primary schools, thirty-five percent of the adult population was literate. Among males the rate was sixty percent. It was found that about two-thirds of the literate men and over one-third of the literate women had had no formal schooling at all. They had "simply learned 'to read a letter and write a reply' as they grew up" (Shrestha and Choudhari. p. 30). I hope the above has explained some of the ways this might have happened.

From a sample population of over twelve hundred Gurungs living in one Village Panchayat I have found what would seem for Nepal a rather high rate of literacy, seventy percent among men over six years of age and sixteen percent among women. While the literacy rate is high, one could not say that the population is highly educated in the sense that they have many graduates. The very first generation to receive formal education at all is in its mid twenties and early thirties. The very first man to earn a high school diploma is thirty-nine, the second is thirty-five.

Village Panchayat Gurungs who have studied at the secondary level besides entering the military, have sought work outside the villages. A recent study in Pokhara, for instance, found that the latest wave of immigrants to that town is largely made up of highly literate Gurungs¹⁵. Some educated youth have advanced to middle level positions in the police, others teach in urban high schools, a few have found jobs in the civil service or gone into various business. Their fathers, or mother's fathers, are often retired military officers who built town houses in Pokhara and began to

invest in business there. The overall pattern seems to be merely a diversification of labor emmigration from the villages that once went solely to the military. While in the past ex-servicemen generally returned to live in the villages, new economic possibilities in rapidly growing Pokhara (due to better transportation and a successful malaria irradiation campaign) are attracting many of these men and their educated sons and daughters.

Although the Village Panchayat's high literacy might be explained by its relative closeness to Pokhara, there are reasons why one might speculate that similar rates are found throughout the community. For one thing, although they are a widely scattered agricultural and pastoral people, Gurungs tend to live in close-knit, nuclear villages. This on the one hand would make it easier for their children to attend near by schools. On the other, it would have likely made them exceptions to the kind of monopoly by neighboring "Hindus" which has been described (Hitchcock. Lionel Caplan) as part of the experience of Magars and Limbus, "tribes" whose housing patterns are spread-out¹⁶.

Pignède noted that Gurung villages, perched high on ridges, were most certainly wealthier than those of Brahmans, Chetris, and Newars lower down. He attributed this to their financial hard headedness, to their quickness in recalling loans and in paying debts (Pignède. p. 139). Certainly their internal closeness must have helped them in dealing with outsiders and in better consolidating the wealth they earned abroad, into land for instance and into "investment" in education.

It is noteworthy what the village Pignède studied in 1958 was more remote than the Village Panchayat which I have represented here--both in terms of time from the present and in distance from any urban center. But the rate of literacy there was actually higher among Gurung men (although not among women) than it is presently in the Village Panchayat I am studying. The British army tended to be particular about areas from which it took recruits, and it seems that men from the more remote and highland regions were especially preferred--Poons among Magars and inhabitants of places like Gandrung among Gurungs (Ministry of Defence. pp. 137-140). It would not perhaps be very surprising if my findings about literacy among Gurungs could be matched several days walk from Pokhara, and even farther afield. A worthwhile subject for research may well be the social and cultural effects such widespread literacy has had on the more than one hundred and fifty thousand Gurungs who live in Nepal.

FOOTNOTES

1. The Nepal Army began providing similar "military education" only in the 1950's after the Ranas were overthrown. Gurungs serve mostly in the Kali Bahadur battalion and, to a lesser extent, in the Purano Gorakh, which is mostly Magar (Ministry of Defense. Appendix C).
2. Prosperous Gurungs live in two or three storied white-washed homes with ornately carved wooded windows and grey slate roofs. From a distance Gurung villages are easily distinguishable from those of other castes, whose houses are usually an earthy reddish orange or brown. Lower caste homes often cluster very close to Gurung villages but are distinct from even very far.
3. The land ownership percentages are based on a survey done in 1961, found in the Land Reform Office in Pokhara.
4. This is a generalization which in fact does not apply to the Village Panchayat as a whole. The primary schools are close to the two largest of the nuclear villages, and only their young people find it feasible to attend the rehearsals, which are held at night. Houses in the remote parts of the Panchayat are from half an hour to forty-five minutes walk along sometimes difficult paths. The middle school, by far the largest building in the Panchayat, is located towards the geographical center, but is close to none of the larger settlements.
5. Gunnar Myrdal has correctly pointed out that enrollment in primary schools in South Asia is different from actual attendance: "A large number of the children registered as enrolled, do not attend school regularly; even if they never achieve more than a modicum of literacy and are destined to lapse into total or almost total illiteracy" (Myrdal. p. 1724). My prediction that those presently attending the lower grades will finish three years is based not on enrollment registers but on quite a number of years of daily attendance records which I have collected.
6. All percentages given, above one percent, are rounded off upwards.
7. Women married outside the Village Panchayat were not included in the census I conducted. While school records will supplement information obtained in the census, I have not yet examined them with regard to women educated in the Village Panchayat but officially residing elsewhere. Education and literacy figures for women over eighteen are complicated by the fact that half or more of the literate women listed in the census have married into the Village Panchayat.

8. My impression is that in terms of overall literacy, Brahmans and Newars may rank close to Gurungs in Pokhara (See Shrestha and Gurung. p. 48). But these two groups appear to have directed their energies into formal education for a longer time. In a village panchayat closer to Pokhara than the one I am studying there are a dozen or more graduates--some with masters degrees--and many more intermediates and School Leaving Certificates among its large Brahman population. Newars are traditionally urban and duplicate this. Substantial numbers of Gurungs pursuing higher education appears to be a quite recent phenomenon.
9. My definition of literacy was simply the ability to read a letter and write a reply. To be more precise was difficult as actual testing was not feasible. This approximates definitions given by Gurung informants who helped conduct the village census, and my own informal observations of six months gave me no reason to doubt the census results. If anything, some women or non-Gurung literates may have been overlooked. Literacy figures for Batulechaur Village Panchayat, also in Kaski District, (H.B. Gurung) approximate my own: Total 33%, Male 55%, Female 9.8%.
10. Of all Village Panchayat Gurungs with military experience, sixty-eight percent were or are in the Indian Army, twenty-seven percent in the British and five percent in the Nepal Army.
11. My findings tend to contradict those of Macfarlane, who studied a Gurung village not far from the site of my research. He states: "Western-style education gives no advantage in village cultivation or recruitment to the army" (Macfarlane. p. 367). Even as regards village cultivation, the statement is not necessarily accurate; it was one of the first generation to be educated "Western-style" who provided facilities for the lengthy stay of the agricultural extension worker (JTA), and it was he who was first in line for trying new techniques or seeds in his own fields.
12. These largely brahmanical schools received government support in Kaski from the beginning of this century. They are described thusly: "The curriculum emphasizes the Sanskrit language. Most of the time is devoted to reading and memorizing early religious manuscripts. Nepali and some arithmetic are taught, and recently some history has been introduced. The classes are not rigidly graded; the pupil is expected to progress through the Sanskrit secondary school and college if he is able" (Upraity. p. 22). Gurungs when they attended these same schools were not expected to progress beyond Nepali and simple math. Until October 1951 lower castes were not allowed to attend them at all (Joshi and Rose. p. 160) An inexpensive booklet (Thulo Varnamala published in Benares; and copies by, among others, Ratna Pustak Bhandar in Kathmandu)

was used for many years in the pathshalas and is still taught in village pre-school shishu classes. It gives simple spelling and math and provides models for business letters and IOUs (tamsuk). An English section was usually skipped over but short prayers in Sanskrit to Ganesh and Saraswati were memorized by all students. A special section of mathematics was provided for those Brahman boys who would one day write horoscopes as a profession.

13. Gunnar Myrdal wrote, "Buddhism....represented the only large-scale attempt in ancient South Asia to organize popular education, both for adults, through the teachings of the wandering monks, and, more particularly, for male children in the monastery para-schools", but he continues, "Buddhism lost almost all of its reformist zeal when it adjusted to stagnant peasant societies. In its more popular forms it even came to encompass a large amount of animis and superstition" (Myrdal. p. 1629). It must be admitted that Buddhism's effect on education of Gurungs in the Village Panchayat has been slight. This is despite the stay for five years of a Rimpoche, a Tibetan monk of high status whose visitors came regularly from as far away as Kathmandu. At a time when he was unsuccessfully soliciting funds to build a gompa in the Village Panchayat the villagers were raising twenty thousand rupees to build a middle school. Part of the reason for Buddhism's lack of impact in formal education may lie in the Gurung's extensive military service which seems to have had a mixed "sanskritization" and "modernization" effect. Still, one Gurung told me, "We may be Hindus during our lives, but at death we are Buddhists". By this he meant that although many Hindu customs have penetrated the community (observing Dasain among the most important) the Arghun ceremony which guides the deceased through Bardo, the immediate afterworld, derives from Tibetan Buddhism (heavily influenced by local shamanism). It is conceivable that Buddhism could revive and once again exert an educational influence in the community.
14. There is a high occurrence among Gurungs of children attending school at their mother's parents' village. This is especially true if a middle school or some other educational advantage is there. Many who attend school in Pokhara stay in homes of close relatives, most often of their mother's father.
15. Literacy figures for sample populations of some of Pokhara's caste/ethnic groups are given in Shrestha and Gurung (p. 48):

	Total	Male	Female
Brahman	45.1%	81.6%	12.8%
Chetri	51.3%	78.0%	18.9%
Newar	46.8%	76.9%	23.9%
Gurung	49.3%	80.2%	20.9%
Damai	24.8%	42.6%	10.4%
Sarki	10.3%	22.6%	-

These figures are for those over sixteen years of age; comparable figures for the Village Panchayat are:

	Total	Male	Female
Gurung	40%	70%	9%
Non-Gurung	5%	10%	-

16. Hitchcock (p. 105): "As a result of their religious, educational, and political advantages, Brahmans, in contrast to Magars, have been able to secure more and choicer land".

Caplan, Lionel (p.10): "The Hindus are now economically, politically and educationally the tribesmen's superiors. In the south Asian context the tribes are regarded as anonymous with the backward, the exploited and the dispossessed; the Hindus are those who exploit and dispossess them".

Both Hitchcock and Caplan describe ways in which Magars and Limbus have used education to improve their position, the former author going so far as to call education "the major activity" of Magar advance (Hitchcock. p. 109). Actually these "tribes", or ethnic groups of Tibeto-Burman antecedents, are probably in a much better position vis-a-vis "Hindus" than the invisible minority of low caste artisans who are subsumed under "Nepali Speakers" in the national census. In the Village Panchayat the latter number five hundred, and according to Macfarlane's findings in a nearby village, these people--if population pressures on the land continue to mount as they have in the past--could easily become a "landless proletariat". Already they are forced to buy food, as old Jajmani relationships are rapidly being replaced by the cash-nexus, and they are caught between having too little land of their own and growing inflation. Not long ago an official explained to me that one reason no village metal workers (kamis) were in a program for training mistri (mechanics, craftsmen) for local small scale government projects was, "They are illiterate and wouldn't understand our written instruction". Yet such a training program might have been designed to impart literacy as well as tap a reservoir of skilled manpower a developing country such as Nepal ought not ignore (see Myrdal, Chapter 32, for a discussion of widespread literacy as necessary precondition for balanced development). The kind of sophistication that could have been displayed is that which has village "witch doctors" being trained to raise the level of health in rural areas that could not possibly be served by the country's three hundred or so doctors (see The Rising Nepal. June 27, 1974, p. 3). A. Patricia Caplan's study of Brahmans and low caste artisans in western Nepal ended with a recommendation that, "...the wider society has to provide...mechanisms which give members of lower castes some opportunity for mobility outside the village" (A. Caplan. p. 96).

APPENDIX A

In the Village Panchayat many children spend a first year in school in the "Shishu" class learning the alphabet and how to count. This class is not recognized in the new Education Plan, which assumes that the first year of school will be in the first grade. I have included the shishu class in the table below, because in the school rools it is not distinguished from class one. Also many parents wait until their children are "old enough" to make the walk to school over paths which are slippery and dangerous when wet. For these and perhaps other reasons children attending any particular class tend to be older than the official age for the class. In the table given here, asterisks marks the official age a student should be in each class, and "I" indicates the age of each student presently attending school at the level.

AGES AND CLASS LEVEL OF CHILDREN PRESENTLY ATTENDINGTHE VILLAGE PANCHAYAT'S SCHOOLS

Primary Level Classes 1-3

Middle Level Classes 4-7

Students

Age	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3	Class 4	Class 5	Class 6	Class 7
5	IIII	I					
6	*IIIIIIII	I	I				
7	IIIIII	*II					
8	IIIIIIIIII	III	*	I	I		
9	IIII	IIIIIIII		*III			
10	IIII	IIIIIIII	IIIIIIII	I	*		
11	I	I	IIIIII	IIII		*	
12	II	IIII	IIIIII	IIIIII	IIIIIIIIII	I	*
13		I	II	I	IIII	I	II
14			I	I		II	II
15				II	II	I	I
16				I		I	II
17		I			I	I	I

APPENDIX B

The following table shows the number of Village Panchayat children of official school going age (6-15 years) who are attending school (Classes 1-10). I have given only those who are of official school going age for the sake of comparison with statistics available for Pokhara (Shrestha and Gurung. p. 61). The latter is in the second table below. Actually there are eight children over fifteen years of age presently attending school in the Village Panchayat and sixteen more attending school outside, mostly in Pokhara. All twenty-four are Gurung.

NUMBERS AND PERCENTAGES BY CASTE ETHNIC GROUP
OF THOSE PRESENTLY ATTENDING SCHOOL. AGES 6-15 YEARS

	<u>Male</u>			<u>Female</u>		
		<u>At</u>			<u>At</u>	
	Number	School	Percent	Number	School	Percent
Gurungs*	147	82	56%	139	45	32%
Non-Gurungs	92	17	19%	102	1	1%
Kami	51	8	22%	44	-	-
Damai	24	3	12%	30	1	3%
Brahman	22	5	23%	18	-	-
Gharti	4	1	25%	4	-	-
Sarki	3	-	-	3	-	-
Chetri	1	-	-	1	-	-
Magar	1	-	-	1	-	-
Tamang	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	239	99	42%	241	46	19%

* Seven Gurung boys and six girls attend school outside the Village Panchayat.

PERCENT OF SCHOOL AGE (6-15 YEARS) CHILDREN ATTENDING
SCHOOL IN VILLAGE PANCHAYAT AND IN POKHARA
(SELECTED CASTE/ETHNIC GROUPS)

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
<u>Gurung</u>			
(Village Panchayat)	48%	56%	32%
(Pokhara)	71%	80%	63%
<u>Brahman</u>			
(Village Panchayat)	13%	23%	-
(Pokhara)	53%	78%	27%
<u>Damai</u>			
(Village Panchayat)	6%	12%	-
(Pokhara)	25%	30%	17%

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The Saugal-ṭol Temple of Patan

--Mary Shepherd Slusser

Recently appeared a brief paper entitled "A Medieval Nepalese Temple of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa"¹. Since the temple is neither of proven medieval date nor dedicated to Viṣṇu Nārāyaṇa the following discussion may be useful. Its purpose is to rectify the date assigned to the temple and to identify and date the remarkable image within².

The temple in question is a small, two-roofed structure of square plan, a typical Nepalese, or Newar, style temple of brick and wood standing at Saugal-ṭol, Patan in the Kathmandu Valley. Although there are inscriptions on stone stelae and on images within the temple precincts, neither these nor any other documents permit us to date the temple to the "early middle age"³, nor certainly to the "Malla Dynasty...from the 11th or 12th century"⁴. The truth is that -- as for most of the more prestigious Nepalese temples -- we simply do not know when this minor shrine was built. Lacking evidence to the contrary -- stylistic or documentary -- one would certainly assign the Saugal-ṭol temple at the earliest to the sixteenth or seventeenth century, the period embracing the large majority of extant architectural monuments in the Kathmandu Valley. It may well be a replacement of a number of preceding shrines which have risen and decayed in the same place, ephemeral and successive shelters of the ancient divinity enshrined within. From documentary evidence we know this to be true for such important sites as Paśupatinātha and Cāṅgu Nārāyaṇa, two of the most venerable foundations in the Kathmandu Valley, each now occupied by a seventeenth century building. This is a well established characteristic of the history of Nepalese architectural monuments and no scholar attributes to the existing temples dates from "the 4th to 10th centuries"⁵.

If the Saugal-ṭol shrine were of eleventh or twelfth century date it would be a treasure indeed. For with the exception of Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa, a sattal, or rest house and temple, to be dated anterior to A.D. 1143⁶, there is no known extant architectural monument in Nepalese style that predates the Malla period⁷.

If the post-Licchavi ("Ṭhakurī") (ca. A.D. 850-1200) architectural monuments are rare, those of the Licchavi period (ca. A.D. 300-850) are even more so. Although it is true that there is a host of inscriptional references to Licchavi architecture -- of which, however, the cited Mānadeva victory inscription is not one⁸ -- we have yet to establish the exact nature of Licchavi buildings. That the Licchavis, even as their descendants, favored more than one temple style is evident. Surface remains, decorative and architectural, point to the popularity of the North Indian stone

śikhara, and inscriptions affirm the existence of temples of brick and wood. This is explicit in a charming reference in the Mātiṅgrāma inscription to a temple whose "bricks had been disturbed and holes formed so that the mongoose chase the mice ... and the timbers ... had become old"⁹. But whether the Licchavi style temple of brick and wood conforms to the latter day Nepalese style temple has yet to be established. Certainly it is unwarranted to say of Licchavi temples that "most of them [were] constructed of brick and wood in the multi-roofed Nepalese style" and that the Saugal-ṭol temple "closely follows the earlier Licchavi type of construction". While it is true that given the remarkable continuum of culture in the Kathmandu Valley the Nepalese style temple may well mirror Licchavi antecedents, this is mere conjecture. It is abundantly clear that the archeologist's spade must be activated and that patient research must preface any generalizations about the exact nature of Licchavi architecture¹⁰.

II

Of far greater interest than the modest Saugal-ṭol shrine of undetermined date is the remarkable image enshrined within (Figs. 1-3)¹¹. Rather than "Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa" or Hari-Hara, a composite image half Śiva, half Viṣṇu. It will be recalled that such syncretic representations which sought to reconcile diverse cults in a single image are common in Indian art from early times. Indeed, it is perhaps on a coin of the Kuṣāṇa king, Huvīṣka, that we find the first representation of the Hari-Hara theme¹². It is sculptured in stone at Kutari and still later at Bādāmī where it becomes the fully developed form which was to characterize the Hari-Hara motif into later times¹³. It was also familiar to Licchavi Nepal, as attested by a sixth century inscription which records the consecration of an image of Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa¹⁴. In fully developed images Śiva, the right half, typically wears the distinctive jaṭāmukuta headdress and the serpent earring; he may exhibit the ūrdhvaliṅga; he carries two of his principal cognizances, and he is accompanied by his consort, Pārvatī, and his mount, the bull Nandi. Viṣṇu is represented on the left, the normal position of the female, dictated by his onetime role as Mohinī, the beautiful maiden charged with distributing the divine nectar, or amṛta, churned from the cosmic ocean. Typically he wears the tall kirītamukuta headdress, the earring in the form of a makara, carries two of his chief attributes, and is accompanied by his consort, Lakṣmī, and his vahāṇa, Garuḍa.

In the temple of Saugal-ṭol, however, the Hari-Hara image is represented in a far less developed form, and the two gods are to be distinguished principally by their chief symbols. Śiva holds in his upper hand his emblem par excellence, the trident (triśūla), Viṣṇu in his upper hand the distinctive wheel (cakra). Rather than displaying a second cognizance, Śiva's lower hand is held in the boon bestowing gesture (varada mudrā) but Viṣṇu displays in his the

symbolic conch. What in the photograph appears to be a downturned club, or gadā, Viṣṇu's other distinctive weapon, is actually a sash end.

There is no doubt as to the identity of the critical cognizances, triśūla and cakra¹⁵. The triśūla is a long weapon with three short prongs and the slightly tapering handle (half hidden by Śiva's forward arm) terminates in a carved butt planted firmly on the ground beside the deity (Figs. 2, 3). Although Viṣṇu's cakra is less distinct, one may easily perceive its spokes and, more clearly, Viṣṇu's fingers thrust through them (Fig. 3).

Except for the carefully delineated cognizances, trident, wheel, and conch, the two sides of the image appear to be only slightly differentiated. The earrings, extremely worn, are apparently different and Śiva is ūrdhvaliṅga.

The image is essentially a high relief composition in which the upper portion, freed from the stele and in part summarily modelled on the rear, approaches sculpture in the round. It is a hieratic figure that stands rigidly erect, inflexibly frontal. In contrast to the relatively lean and attenuated hips and chest, the shoulders are broad and rounded, the arms uncommonly thick, and the legs sturdy. The feet are distinctively inclined down a sloping pedestal and the forward arms, awkwardly articulated at the elbow, are held stiffly away from the body. The pendant, boon-bestowing hand of Śiva is disproportionately large and weblike in the undifferentiated carving of the fingers as alternating ridges and grooves. The facial features are totally obliterated by worship and time.

The Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa image is rather simply clothed and ornamented. The most elaborate aspect is the large headdress, extremely deteriorated, from which ribbon-like appendages curve upward to disappear behind the trident and wheel (Figs. 2,3). Massive, lobe-distending earrings (apparently of two types) fall just below the shoulder line. A single strand bead, or rudrakṣa seed, bracelet (kaṅkana) is worn on the forward arms but no other jewelry may be detected on the eroded image.

The torso of the Śaṅkara-Narayaṇa is bare and without the sacred thread. The hips are draped in a short dhoti whose sharply curved, excessively thick, and bracket-shaped hem reveals the knees and falls between them to the ground in stylized folds. A sash is tied at the sides in huge, billowing knots and, like the dhoti, terminates near the ground in a carefully arranged symmetry of folds. A scarf sweeps diagonally up from the divinity's right to hang over the left arm. Like the other garments it, too, falls in stylized folds to the ground. It is this sash end, perfectly balancing the trident's butt at the opposite side, which gives the impression of a downturned club.

Elements of dress -- specifically the crescent ribbons of the headdress, the sash, and the thick dhoti hem -- are schematically carved on the back of the image which can be explored with difficulty in the narrow space between it and the cella wall. Similarly the backs of the arms are also quite carefully modelled.

The exact date of the Saugal-ṭol Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa is unknown. Examination of the roughly cut base reveals the image to be uninscribed and nearby stone inscriptions do not relate to it. Black makes no allusion to the age of the image while D.R. Regmi inexplicably considered that it "must belong to Yaksamalla's reign [A.D. 1428-1482]"¹⁶. It is clear, however, that the Saugal-ṭol Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa may be dated provisionally to the late fifth or early sixth century. Stylistically it presupposes a knowledge of Gupta sculpture although it retains a lingering attachment to Śāka and Kuṣāṇa idioms. But rather than to the Kuṣāṇo-Gupta works of Uttar Pradesh, the Saugal-ṭol image finds its closest analogies with the early sculptures of Eastern India. Two Viṣṇu images from Bengal, one from Hānkraīl¹⁷, the other, Chaitanpur (the well-known "Abhicārika")¹⁸, are particularly pertinent.

The Saugal-ṭol Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa is one of an impressive series of related images in situ in the Kathmandu Valley. A few of these sculptures, particularly a group representing the Mother Goddesses, have been introduced elsewhere¹⁹. Subsequent field research has established a current inventory of some fifty stylistically related images, male and female, representing diverse divinities of the Hindu pantheon. Among them are more than a dozen standing stone sculptures that share in greater or lesser degree the distinctive characteristics of the Saugal-ṭol Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa. On epigraphic evidence two among them may be dated anterior to A.D. 567. The discussion of these and the related images is deferred to a forthcoming paper that will further place in proper perspective the important image of Saugal-ṭol.

From the foregoing it will be clear that the Saugal-ṭol shrine rather than medieval is merely one of a host of similar structures to be dated roughly to the sixteenth-seventeenth century. By contrast, the image within, not Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa but Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa, is of considerable importance and is to be ranged within a series of related images which provisionally may be dated to the late fifth or early sixth century A.D.

FOOTNOTES

1. Shirley M. Black, Oriental Art n. s., vol. 18, no. 2 (Summer 1972), pp. 163-165. In the following text all quotes without source refer to this citation.
2. The field research which made this contribution possible was financed by a generous grant from The JDR 3rd Fund, New York, to the director and trustees of which I take pleasure in recording my gratitude. I should also like to thank Dr. Pratapaditya Pal, Curator of Indian and Islamic Art, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, for willingly reading through the manuscript and for his helpful criticism.
3. D. R. Regmi, Medieval Nepal, 4 pts. (Calcutta: Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, 1965-1966; Patnā: pt. 4 published by the author 1966), pt. 1, p. 599.
4. Black, op. cit., p. 164.
5. Ibid.
6. Mary Shepherd Slusser et al., "Two Medieval Nepalese Buildings: An Architectural and Cultural Study", Artibus Asiae, in press.
7. The Malla dynasty, of course, did not rule in "the 11th or 12th century" as Black affirms. Malla rule began in the 'thirteenth century with the advent of the first Malla king, Ari, enthroned sometime in the year A.D. 1200. We do not know the initial date of Arimalla's reign but the last document of his post-Licchavi predecessor, Vijayakāmadeva, is 320 Māgha (January A.D. 1200) and the first of Arimalla is 321 Kārtika, October of the same year (Regmi, Medieval Nepal, pt. 1, pp. 195-196, 207).
8. See Sylvain Lévi, Le Népal, 3 vols. (Paris: Ernst Leroux, 1905, 1908), vol. 3, pp. 10-18 for the transliteration and translation of the inscription.
9. Raniero Gnoli, Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta Characters, Serie Orientale Roma, vol. 10, Materials for the Study of Nepalese History and Culture, no. 2, 2 pts. (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1956), inscr. 38, p. 53.
10. Apropos of the Licchavis it should be noted that there is no mystery about their system of dating. Saṃvat 386, the date of Mānadeva's Cāngu Nārāyaṇa pillar inscription referred to by Black, is not "thought to fall in the fifth century of the Christian Era". It is a firmly established date of the Śaka Era which, inscribed in the month of Jyēṣṭha, corresponds to the year A. D. 464. On the method of converting the two eras

employed by the Licchavis, Śaka and Aṃśuvarman (or Mānadeva), see R.C. Majumdar, "The Eras of Nepal", Journal of the Asiatic Society (Calcutta, 1959), vol. 1, no.1, pp. 47-49 and Luciano Petech, "The Chronology of the Early Inscriptions of Nepal", East and West n. s., vol. 12, no. 4 (Rome, December 1961), pp. 227-232. Similarly there is no confusion about the post-Licchavi dates that requires clarification by a historian as the Black article suggests. The epoch date of the Nepal Saṃvat corresponds to 20 October A.D. 879 and a simple mathematical calculation (in which the month must also be considered) provides the appropriate Christian Era conversion.

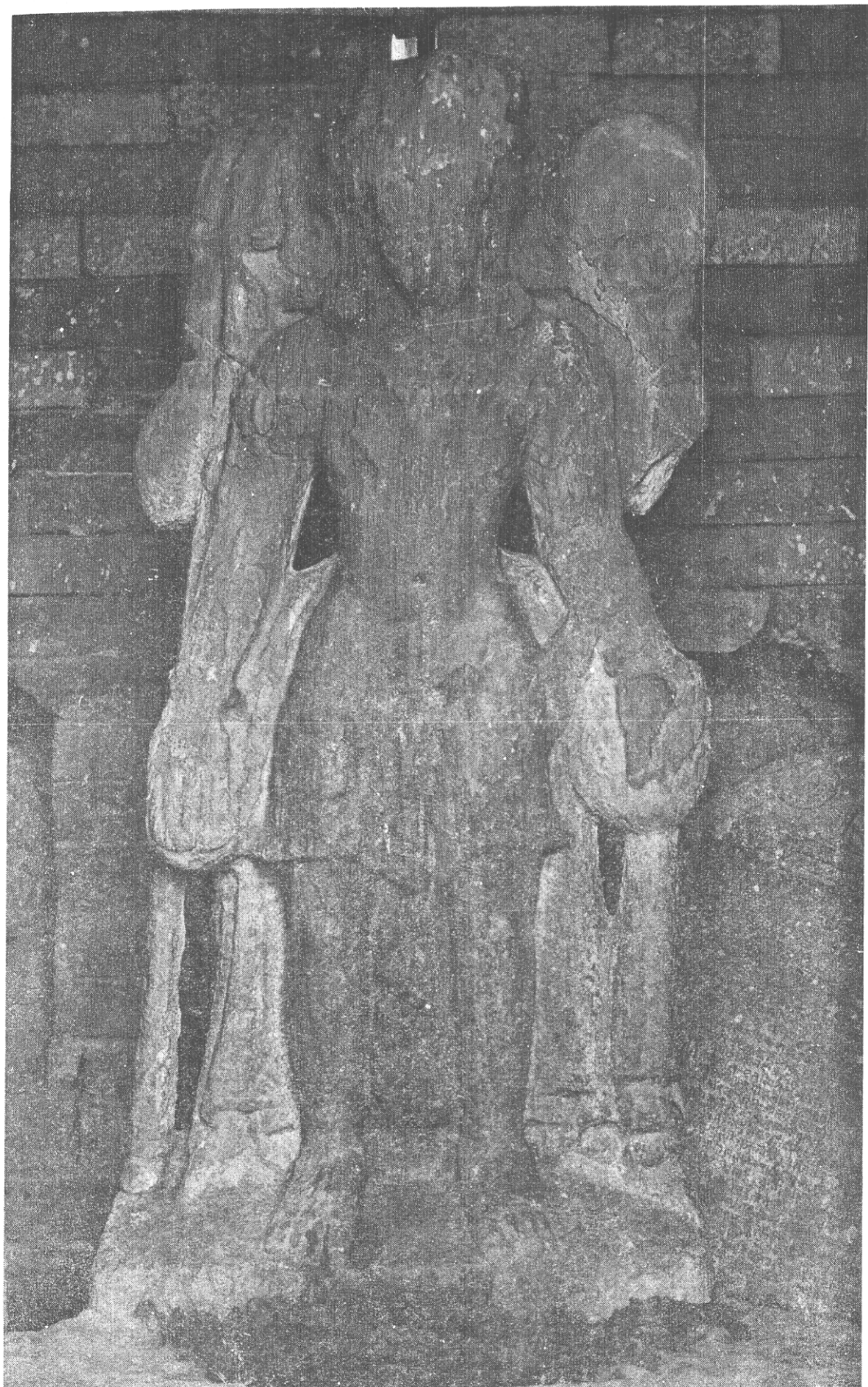
11. Regarding the Surya sculpture outside the temple and the related Surya images referred to by Black, it should be noted that, rather than two, there is only one image dated Nepal Saṃvat 185 (A.D. 1065). The illustrations Black designates as the two Suryas of this date are manifestly the same image. The A.D. 1065 sculpture, now in the collections of the Department of Archeology, His Majesty's Government of Nepal, originated in the sunken fountain of Thāpāhiṭī, not far from Saugal-ṭol where the companion image of A.D. 1083 still stands. Both images have been correctly published by Pratapaditya Pal in The Astral Divinities of Nepal (Benares, 1969), pp. 10-12, Figs. 2, 3 and in "Three Dated Nepali Bronzes and Their Stylistic Significance", Archives of Asian Art vol. 25 (1971-1972), p. 59, Fig. 3.
12. Jitendra Nath Banerjea, The Development of Hindu Iconography, 2nd ed. (Calcutta: Calcutta University Press, 1956), pp. 123-124, 544.
13. Pramod Chandra, Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum, No. 203, Pl. LXVIIIa; Banerjea, The Development of Hindu Iconography, Pl. XLVI, Fig. 3.
14. Gnoli, inscr. 20, p. 28; Pratapaditya Pal, Vaisnava Iconology in Nepal (Calcutta, 1970), pp. 128-130.
15. Together with my colleague, Mr. Gautamavajra Vajrāchārya, I have made a very thorough study of the image in situ. It presented a formidable challenge since the deity, in worship, is covered with caked vermilion and food offerings as well as with thick deposits of dirt and mold occasioned by the leaking temple roof. Moreover, the upper half of the image is extremely deteriorated while the lower half is normally concealed by a stone image of Mahādeva. Fortunately, we chanced upon the shrine one day when the latter had been pulled from its socket, perhaps in an abortive attempt at thievery since the image lay nearby. Profiting by this circumstance we scrubbed the image with soap and water - a rite almost universally approved by the Nepalese as an appropriate if

unusual way of honoring the gods. It was only after this measure that the spokes of the cakra and other distinctive features of the sculpture became clear.

16. Medieval Nepal, pt. 1, p. 613 Dr. Regmi also incorrectly describes the image, attributing to it symbols and vahānas that are to be expected in Hari-Hara images but that are absent here.
17. S.K. Saraswati, Early Sculptures of Bengal (Calcutta: Sambodhi Publications, 1962), Pl. I, no. 4. The author assigns the image to the fourth century but most scholars prefer a fifth-sixth century date.
18. Banerjea, The Development of Hindu Iconography, Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 2. The image is usually dated to the seventh century but a revised dating to the sixth century was suggested to me by Dr. Pal.
19. Mary Slusser, "Nepali Sculpture - New Discoveries", in Aspects of Indian Art, ed. Pratapaditya Pal (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1972), pp. 93-104. At the time I wrote the above paper the early images were only slowly becoming manifest. While I was not then ready to assign to some of them an early date, subsequent field research leaves no doubt that they should be included within the series of early images.



1. Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa, Saugal-ṭol, Patan as seen in the normal state of worship. H: 36 inches. A late Malla Viṣṇu beside him and Śiva Mahādeva in front recapitulate his dual nature. Photograph by the author.



2. Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa after cleaning. Photograph by the author.



3. Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa, a detail. Photograph by the author.

Jāko: A Newar Family Ceremony

by Gérard Toffin

In Hindu tradition, each stage in the life of an individual is marked by a religious ceremony which is called saṃskāra, a term that is generally translated by "sacrament"¹. Of these there are twelve main ones; among them, we may mention: "impregnation" (the time at which conception is supposed to have taken place), birth, shaving of the head, initiation, marriage, and funerary rites. These sacraments punctuate the main dates in an individual's life, drive off the dangerous powers which seek to stop him passing on to a new stage and wipe away the pollution contracted at such times². For Hinduism, saṃskāra have at the same time moral and religious significance: man is born imperfect and each sacrament is a step towards his accession to a moral world. In the texts, it is said that if saṃskāra are carried out correctly, they lead to liberation (mokṣa), which is the final aim of the Hindu (Pandey, 1943: 27).

Among the saṃskāra which are celebrated after the birth of a child two are particularly important: the giving of a name, and the solemn absorption of the first solid food. In classical India, the former ceremony (nāmakaraṇa) usually took place ten days after birth, and the second (annaprāsana) six months later (Pandey, 1943: 134 and following). Among the Bāhun (Brahmanes) and Chetri (Kshatriya) of contemporary Nepal, the name-giving (Nep: nvaran) takes place on the eleventh day after birth; and the taking of solid food (pasni) occurs five or six months after the nvaran (Bista, 1971: 14).

At Pyangaon, a Newar village to the south of Kathmandu³, these two saṃskāra are celebrated during one and the same ceremony which is called in Newari jāko (or jāku)⁴. Traditionally the jāko takes place six months after birth in the case of a girl, seven months after birth in the case of a boy⁵. Saturdays and Mondays are avoided; Wednesdays and Thursdays are the best days for this. These rules are very strictly observed; the religious members of the community (ācāju) are consulted in the matter.

The ceremony at which I was present took place in the house of Nuchelal, situated at the north-west entrance of the village. Before going on to describe the rites, I shall introduce rapidly the actors: Nuchelal, master of the house, is 24 years of age. The house in which he lives today and where the ritual took place was built during the winter of 1970. Previously, he had lived with his second wife Ratna in the house of his father, Nucheman. It was at the birth of his first child, for whom the jāko was to be celebrated today that the couple decided to move house and to set themselves up independently. Nucheman, the father of Nuchelal, belongs to the

patrilineage called wōsi. The thakali⁶ of this patrilineage is Yeleca, the elder brother of Nucheman⁷. We must point out that the wōsi hold a particular position in the village. First of all, their geographical background is different from that of the other four lineages in Pyangaon. The original myth of the community states clearly that all the ancestors of the wōsi came from Malla Kutsa, whereas the four other founding groups of this village came from Pulam Sankhu⁸. These two villages are situated respectively to the south-east and to the south-west of the valley of Kathmandu. Moreover, the wōsi summon a Newar buddhist priest (gubhaju) in order to celebrate their funerary rituals whereas the other patrilineages use, for the same purpose, the service of a Hindu priest (New: barmu). However, the particular position of the wōsi does not correspond to a difference in status: all the lineages intermarry freely and form a group of total commensality.

Another person whose role will be essential throughout the ceremony should also be introduced: this is Dharmei, the younger daughter of Yeleca (fig. No. 1), who lives in the north-east of the village in a little two-storeyed house. She is aged about 42. Since she divorced eight years ago, Dharmei is the nāyani⁹ of the group of Yeleca, that is to say, the feminine equivalent of the thakali.

The jāko lasts two days. On Wednesday the 15th of December 1971 (the 13th day of the dark fort-night of the month of Paus) around 8:30 in the evening, Dharmei goes to the house of Nuchelal. Ratna, the latter's wife, is seated near the fire-place; she holds in her arms her little daughter who is going to be the centre of interest throughout the next two days. Dharmei makes a rapid offering in front of the child, gives her a ṭikā (New: śinā) on the middle of the forehead, and presents to her a brass plate (bvu), in which are deposited five different varieties of vegetables. These varieties are as follows: muśiā (soja; Nep: bhatmās), māi (Phaseolus radiatus; Nep: mās), musu (Lens esculenta; Nep: musuro), śimi (phaseolus vulgaris; Nep: simi) and mwośia (Vigna unguiculata; Nep: bodī ?). In addition, the plate contains two other ingredients: small pieces of dried radish (lāisu) and of turmeric (New: halu). Dharmei symbolically lifts a small amount of each of these foods to the child's mouth; then Ratna makes her absorb a few grains of rice. During the ceremony two other people are present in the room, but do not play any active part: Harimaya, Nucheman's wife, and Nuchelal, the child's father. They are seated in a corner and are smoking a water-pipe. In agreement with Yeleca, the thakali of the lineage, it was decided on the morning of this very day to give the little girl the name of Nuchemaya¹⁰. No ceremony marked the giving of this name.

The next morning, Thursday, 16th of September at 8:30, several people are assembled on the first storey (cheli) (II) of the house of Nuchelal. Ratna, kneeling before the fire-place is cooking food. Her mother, Laxmi, is present in the cheli and helps her

daughter with her household work. In one corner of the room Harimaya, Nucheman's wife, holds in her arms Nuchemaya. Dharmei is there too; she is busy cutting, folding and sewing leaves, so as to make the ceremonial plates which are called lapte (New). In these lapte, she puts a few grains of rice (New: jā), some salt and a few drops of maize beer (New: thon). She next puts them into a brass plate, goes towards Ratna who is giving the breast to her daughter facing north, and sits down on her heels in front of her daughter. The nāyani, when she has put the plate down at Ratna's feet, touches six times the head, then the chest of the baby with the ring finger of her right hand. After this Ratna presses six times each of her breasts so as to asperge with milk the offering dish (New: bvu). The nāyani then touches six times the breast of Ratna, picks up the bvu and goes and throws out the contents in front of the house. This act is called in Newari chwasā wane¹²; it symbolises the expulsion from the house and from the body of the mother of the evil spirits which can torment the child¹³. Before going back to Nuchelal, Dharmei washes the plate with water.

Back again in the cheli, Dharmei prepares a second plate with husked rice, (New: jāki), vermillion (New: śinā), flowers (New: tapho suā) and a few coins. She squats down once more in front of Ratna, puts a ṭikā (Nep.) on the child's forehead, then on her mother's forehead and offers to both a few coins as a pledge of prosperity. She next puts at the feet of Ratna a lapte which she fills with grains of husked rice, vermillion and flowers. Ratna's mother who until now had remained stationary near the fire-place at this moment takes up a dish and repeats exactly the same form of offering in front of her daughter and her grand daughter.

After the pūjā, comes the offerings of presents: this is a critical moment in the ceremony. It takes place in an atmosphere which people try to render solemn. Each in turn comes to offer to the little Nuchemaya, two pieces of clothing: a vest of very light cotton which is called puākalā (New) and a coloured blouse which is called lā (New). The former was ordered from a tailor (Kusle) of Chapagaon by Nuchelal, the child's father; the latter was made in the village itself by Laxmi, the maternal grandmother (ajimā). It is Dharmei who gives the first present in the name of the patrilineage of the wōsi: she puts the puākalā in the brass plate which served previously for doing the pūjā and offers it to the child. Ratna helps her daughter to take the blouse and deposits the present beside her. The grandmother, Laxmi, in the same way gives her a lā; once again, the child must take the piece of clothing. To end this ritual Dharmei and Ratna put a ṭikā on the forehead of the little girl; then on each other's foreheads; and then on those of all the others present.

The ceremony ends with a meal which is called in Newari samey. It is Ratna, the lady of the house, who is responsible for preparing anything and for serving the guests. Five people are present at the meal and take their places according to strict rules: the ajimā, Laxmi, is to the left of Ratna; the nāyani, Dharmei, is on her right. All three are seated facing the north and with their back turned to the village street. Facing west, along the railing which marks the top of the staircase are seated two grandsons of Yeleca, the thakali of the patrilineage. This too is the place where I was told to sit. While Laxmi puts in front of each guest a lapte as a plate and a white iron bowl (New: barca), Dharmei and Laxmi dress the child with the two presents which she has received. First, they put on the puākālā, then the lā. The meal is made up of rice (New: bāji; Nep: ciura), grains of black soja (New haku muśiā) and of maize beer. In theory, as was the case on the previous evening, the nāyani should lift symbolically towards the mouth of the little Nuchemaya a few pieces of flattened rice, of soja and of cooked rice. But the little girl has gone to sleep in her mother's arms and nobody can wake her up. The meal lasts fifteen minutes; at 10 O'clock, the jāko is over and everybody has gone home.

What importance does this ceremony have in the life of an individual? What does it correspond to for a child? Up until now, the new-born baby was an indistinct being without moral responsibility and without obligations. He could be put in contact with untouchables (butchers, for instance) without having to be purified. The baby in theory, could even share food with such people. When they spoke to him, his parents used two terms of address, some vague, some affectionate, such as māca (child) or hirā (diamond). The child had, of course, already a name which he had been given by astrologists (jośi) at the time of his birth in function of the position of the planets and of the sun in the sky, but this name was a jealously guarded secret¹⁴. In many cases, it gets forgotten; the parents themselves do not know it.

The newly-born child has, by and large, no social status. It is the jāko which gives him one or, at least, the first links of one. The giving of the name in the first place consecrates the child's integration into his family and into his lineage. The name, as we have seen, is derived from that of the father or of the grand-father; and the thakali of the patrilineage is consulted on this choice. After the marginal being which he was previously, the child is now recognised as a member of the social group. Henceforth, he will have to observe caste-rules even if they are not yet as strict for him as for a grown-up person.

On the second day of this ceremony, the child is solemnly fed with solid food: rice grains, beans, flattened rice. This meal is basically symbolic; long before this day, the child is given solid food: boiled flour (New: satu) or a sweet cake (New: kwa). However, an effort is made to give full symbolic meaning to this act; for it

is on this occasion that the child passes from a childish food (the food it receives from its mother) to the food of a grown-up person which is prepared and which is socialised. The jāko marks the passage from one state to another; the new clothes that the child receives on this day consecrate and materialise this passage. Before the ceremony took place, the child's death would not have polluted, or almost not, his kinsmen. His funeral would have taken place almost in hiding; only two or three of his close relatives would have been present. His parents would only have been considered impure during a period of four days. If the child had died before its fourth day, his death would not have caused any pollution. After the jāko, things are different: the child will be burnt. The funerary rituals will be celebrated by the whole of his lineage and the presence of a priest will be necessary; his parents will remain impure for five or seven or thirteen days, according to the situation¹⁵.

Several people play an important role in the course of the ceremony. Others, on the other hand, do not play any role. In every case, each person's role is fixed by very strict rules. The jāko throws clear light on the social groups involved; it expresses certain ideas concerning kinship. First, the father is absent throughout the ceremony. I was assured that the same would have been the case if the child had been a male child. The jāko above all, is the business of the women. The only males whose presence is authorised are children. In the second place: no priest or any other religious specialist is called on for this ceremony. All the ritual activity is in the hands of the nāyani. This is not only true of the lineage which we have described in this article; the other village groups behave in a like manner. At Pyangaon, the family ceremonies which constitute rites de passage in the life of an individual (birth, jāko, initiation, marriage) are regulated and celebrated by the two most important people of the lineage: the thakali and the nāyani. Only the funeral ceremonies comport the obligation to call on the services of a priest. In all other cases, the ritual is the exclusive responsibility of the kinsmen.

At Pyangaon the jāko takes the form of a family or a lineage ceremony, which is reduced to its most simple expression. Two groups of kin are represented: on the one side, the thapi, the patrilineal relatives; on the other hand, the sasapi, the wives and their relatives. The members of these two groups are in relationship of "giver" to "taker"; they speak to each other mutually as sasapi and jicāpi (fig. 2). For the child whose jāko is celebrated, these two relations are complementary: from the thapi, he receives his name and his lineage affiliation; from the sasapi, he receives presents, homage, offerings and ritual services. Throughout the different stages of his life cycle, one finds a continuity in the respective roles of these kin. Thus the role played by the maternal grandmother at the time of the jāko is the role which the maternal uncle (pāju) will play later on at the time of initiation¹⁶.

From the point of view of the future of the child, these two kin belong to the same category; they have the same duties and obligations towards Ego.

If the blood relatives and "givers" have complementary functions, these do not have the same hierarchical value. With the first group is associated the vest, puākālā, which is worn next to the skin; with the second, the blouse lā, which is worn over the vest. The former group sit to the right of the child, the second, to the left. It is the nāyani who initiates all the rituals, the sasama only repeats them. For each side of the family, a fixed place is allotted. The system of offerings, the rules of good behaviour, underline the positions of the different groups of kin with regard to the child.

This article is only a first step towards a better understanding of the Newar domestic ceremonies. The remarks and hypotheses which we have put forward here will be examined again in a later work concerning the complete rituals of the life cycle.

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. on this subject, RENOUE (L), L'Hindouisme, Paris, 1966, p. 82. For the meaning of the word samskāra, one can also consult PANDEY (R.B.), Hindu samskāra, Benares, 1949. This author puts forward a definition of this word which seems to us to be important: "religious purificatory rites and ceremonies for sanctifying the body, mind and intellect of an individual, so that he may become a full-fledged member of the community" (p. 27).
2. Cf. GONDA (J), Les Religions de l'Inde, Paris, 1962, vol. I, p. 142.
3. My field-work at Pyangaon was divided into two periods: from August, 1971, to April, 1972, and again in August 1973. These two periods of field-work were financed by the RCP 253 (CNRS), the responsible for which, Mr. Corneille Jest, I wish to thank here.

In the text, Newari words are followed by the abbreviation (new), Nepali words by the abbreviation (Nep), and to transliterate, we have used for both languages, the system laid down in TURNER (R.L.), A Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of the Nepali Language, London, 1931. The spelling of Newari words has been verified in JØRGENSEN (H.), A Dictionary of the classical Newari, Copenhagen, 1936; JOSHI (B.P.), Saṅksipti Nepāl bhāṣā śābda-kos, Kathmandu, 2000; and SHARMA (G.P.), Śābda-saṅgraha, Kathmandu, 2022. Place-names and personal names have been anglicised.

4. The word jāko, which seems to derive from jā ("cooked rice"), is more frequently employed at Kathmandu, Patan, and Chapa-gaon than at Pyangaon. In this community, the two expressions most usually employed are: jā nakegu ("cooked rice, to feed") and nā kaygu ("name, to take") which refer to two successive moments of the ceremony.

We should note that the word jāko prefixed by buḍha ("old"), refers to three other samskāra which are celebrated at the time of old age: the first at the age of 77 years, 7 months, 7 days, 7 ghari and 7 palā; the second at the age of 83 years, 4 months, 4 days, 4 ghari and 4 palā; the last at the age of 99 years, 9 months, 9 days, 9 ghari and 9 palā. These three ceremonies mark so many stages towards paradise (swarga); (Nep. and New.) and total bliss. Within the family, a person who receives this type of consecration tends to be considered as a living divinity. On this subject, see NEPALI (G.S.), The Newars, Bombay, 1965, pp. 120-121. Such ceremonies are not celebrated at Pyangaon.

5. This also seems to be true for the Newar of Kathmandu; cf. NEPALI (G.S.), The Newars, p. 99. On the other hand, in classical India: "the even months for boys and odd ones for girls were prescribed" (PANDEY, 1949: 153).
6. Thakali: "adj. eldest" (JØRGENSEN, 1936: 83). Thakali also designates the head of a guthi, of an association or of a lineage.
7. The jyāpu of Pyangaon did not have a particular word to designate what we translate here by patrilineage. Three words or expressions are employed in respect to this: sometimes the word khala (or khalak) which means "family, household" (JØRGENSEN, 1936: 44); sometimes the word phuki which, properly speaking, does not signify a group but rather a relation among the agnatic kin; and lastly, the word guthi, the very wide meaning of which can also be applied to a religious organisation, to the status of a piece of land, as well as to a voluntary association.
8. On the myth of origin of this village and in a general manner, concerning the daily life of this community, see TOFFIN (G.), Pyangaon, une communauté Néwar de la vallée de Kathmandu: La vie matérielle, Paris, 1973.
9. Nāyani comes from nāyo or nāyak which means "chief". It brings to mind the Nepali nāike which is used with the same meaning. NEPALI (G.S.) gives "thakali naki" (1965: 451).

10. Nucheman, Nuchelal, Nuchemaya ... this example shows that, at Pyangaon, names are transmitted from father to son or from father to daughter (another example Yeleca:, Yelemi, Yelcini). The choice of a name is a complex question which over-steps the limits of this article; we do not have enough statistical information to study with precision all the items which are taken into consideration in the choice; however this may be, the case which we are describing here shows clearly that the choice of a name is a family affair.
11. Normally, the cheli is situated on the second floor of the house. In exceptional cases, as in the house of the Nuchelal, it is on the first floor. Another special aspect of Nuchelal's house is that the kitchen is not situated under the roof, as is usually the case, but in the cheli itself.
12. Chwasa wane, literally: "chwasa to go". The chwasa is a particularly impure place in a Newar community; it is here that are thrown away all impure substances or objects: the umbilical cord, the clothing and the bedding of a dead person, etc. Here also are deposited the offerings which are made to evil spirits: bhut and pret (Newari and Nepāli).
13. Before giving the breast to her child, a woman usually presses her breast to make the first drops of milk come out. These drops are often offered to evil spirits. We will return to this question in another article.
14. This astrological name is called in Newari: jośi yagu nā (from jośi: astrologer) or rāsi yagu nā (from rāsi: a sign of the zodiac). Mr. Hikmat Bista tells me that in Nepali this name is called nwaran ko nām.
15. Informants were not at all in agreement with regard to the duration of mourning to be respected. It certainly seems that considerable latitude is left to families in this manner. A few people told me that if the child died after the age of three months it could be incinerated whether or not the parents had celebrated the jāko. We were not able to verify whether this was so or not.
16. Gopāl Singh Nepāli gives a good description of initiation (keita pūjā) among the high Newar castes (1965: 116-119).

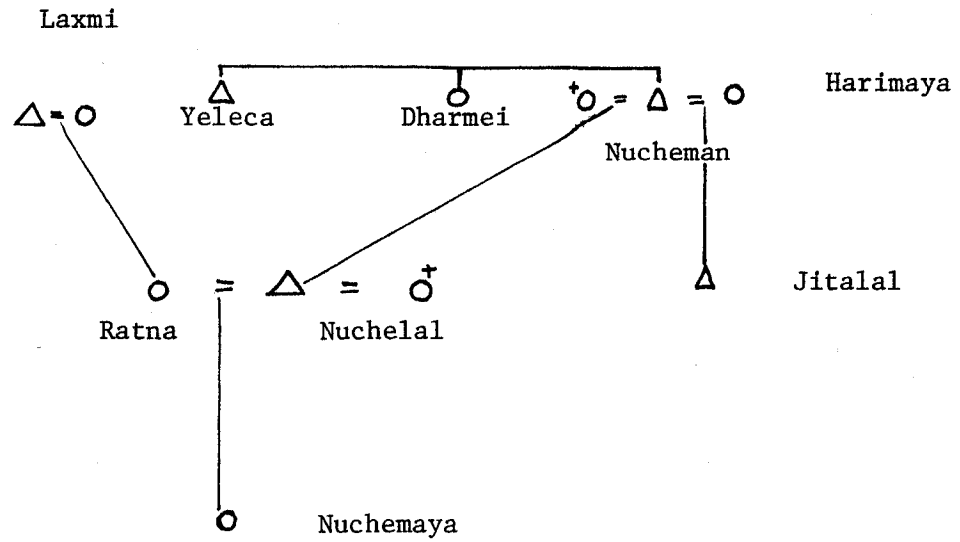


Fig. 1: Nuchelal's relatives.

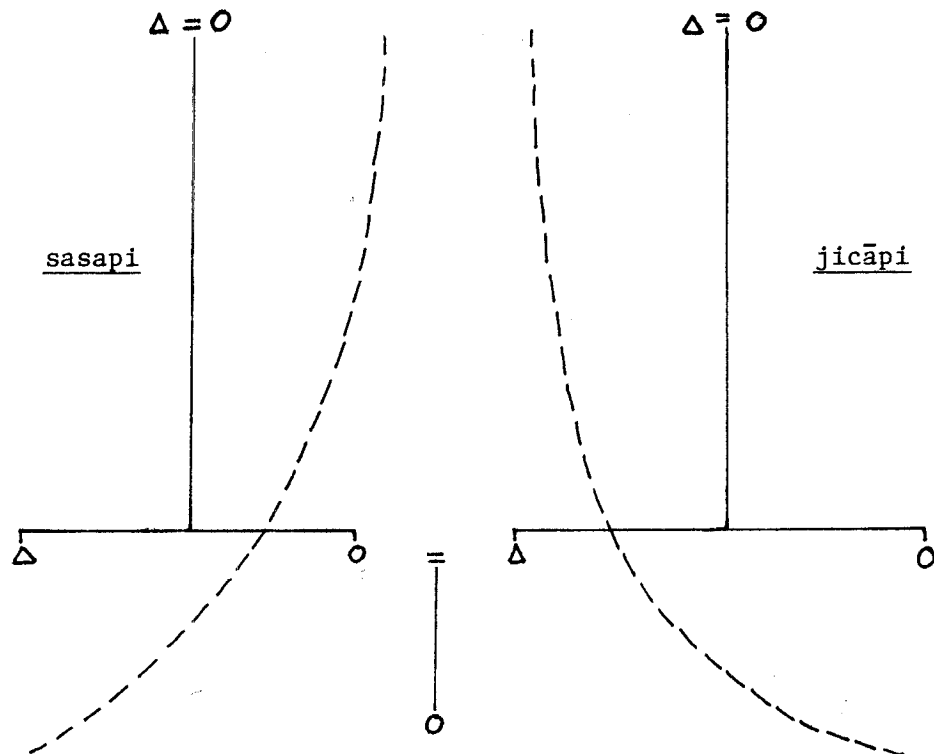


Fig 2: sasapi (givers) and jicāpi (takers).

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Preliminary Notes on Marriage and Kinship

Melvyn C. Goldstein

INTRODUCTION

Despite the fact that Helambu is only three days walk from Kathmandu and is one of the most popular trekking-areas, virtually nothing is known about the socio-cultural organization of its inhabitants. Both Ethnic Groups of Nepal¹ and People of Nepal² mention, in passing only, that Helambu is an area inhabited by Sherpas. Haimendorf, in his book on Khumbu³ writes:

The inhabitants of several villages of the Yelmu region ... also describe themselves as Sherpas⁴ and, though their dialect and many features of their material culture differ from those of the Sherpas of eastern Nepal, these differences do not stand in the way of occasional alliances with Sherpas of Solu.

Yet, it is precisely because of its differences (and similarities) with other Sherpa and Bhotea areas that Helambu is an important area anthropologically. The extent of these differences became apparent to me during the course of a short (17-day) visit to the area in January, 1974. Although I plan to return there to undertake more extensive research, I feel the data on Helambu warrant discussion in the form of a preliminary statement comparing the Sherpas of Helambu with the Sherpas of Khumbu and the Tibetans of Lhasa.

Helambu: background

The term Helambu⁵ is used by the inhabitants to refer only to the areas on each side of the Melamchi Khola. Anthropologically, however, the area includes the villages located above the adjacent Yangri Khola, Larke Khola, and parts of the Trisuli Khola. All of these areas constitute a Sherpa sub-cultural type and Helambu will hereafter be taken to include them all.

Helambu is a large area comprised mainly of Sherpa villages but with some Tamangs at lower elevations. The Sherpa villages range from small scattered settlements of five to ten houses to large nucleated settlements such as Tarkegyang which has one hundred and ten households. A very rough estimate of the population of the entire Helambu area is around three thousand households or 12-13,000 persons.

The Sherpas of the area speak a dialect of Sherpa (Tibetan) that is partially intelligible to Sherpas of other areas such as

Khumbu and Rolwaling. They also usually speak Nepali, some Tamang, and many know varying degrees of Tibetan. Buddhist monastic institutions are active in the area and although most of the monasteries are Nyingmapa, there are several impressive Gelugpa monasteries with permanent celibate monk populations.

The staple crops are potatoes, turnips, wheat and apples, potatoes being the largest of these. Animal husbandry is also important in many parts of Helambu with Buffalo, Sheep, Urang (cross between a dzo and a cow) and Goats the main animals kept.

Helambu: Kinship

Like the Sherpas of Khumbu, the Helambu Sherpas are organized into exogamous patri-clans. I recorded fourteen such clans and there may well be more. They are: Dongpa, Shangpa, Lhopa, Chusangpa, Yoopa (Opa), Ayogpa, Lhalhungpa, Terkelingpa, Thongsowa, Chapa, Galee, Tomarey, Cheepa. None of these clans are present in Khumbu, but two, Dongpa and Galee, seem to correspond to Tamang clans cited in Dor Bahadur Bista⁶ (his Dong and Goley clans)⁷. The Helambu Sherpa clans are not corporately organized and seem to function exclusively with respect to marriage exogamy. Three clans, however, do have special behavioral restrictions in that they do not eat beef or pork and should not (although they do) eat chicken. These three are permitted to eat mutton. There is no concept of "brother" clan as is found among the Sherpas of Khumbu.

The clans follow a patrilineal rule of descent and are exogamous. Precise genealogical relations between clan members is not known.

The most striking feature of the Helambu area with respect to kinship and marriage is their emphatically stated preference for bilateral cross-cousin marriage (i.e. marriage, for a male, with his MBD and FZD) of the type Fox⁸ calls "statistical". In this type it is not large kinship units like clans which are exchanging women but rather individual families and it is 'true' relatives which are involved. Consequently, although the Helambu Sherpas have clans of sorts, their preferred cross cousin marriage pattern resembles groups such as the Shosone which do not.

Bilateral cross-cousin marriage has been rumoured to exist among Tibetanoid⁹ populations in Sikkim and Bhutan, but this is the first time such marriage practices have been documented for a Tibetanoid population.

The normal pattern in Helambu is for children to establish neolocal residence at the time of marriage with the exception of the youngest son who remains with the parents in a stem family. At marriage, each son and daughter get a share of the property although daughters normally get jewelry rather than land. The youngest son ultimately gets his own share as well as that of his parents. There is no polyandry or polygyny and no jointfamily.

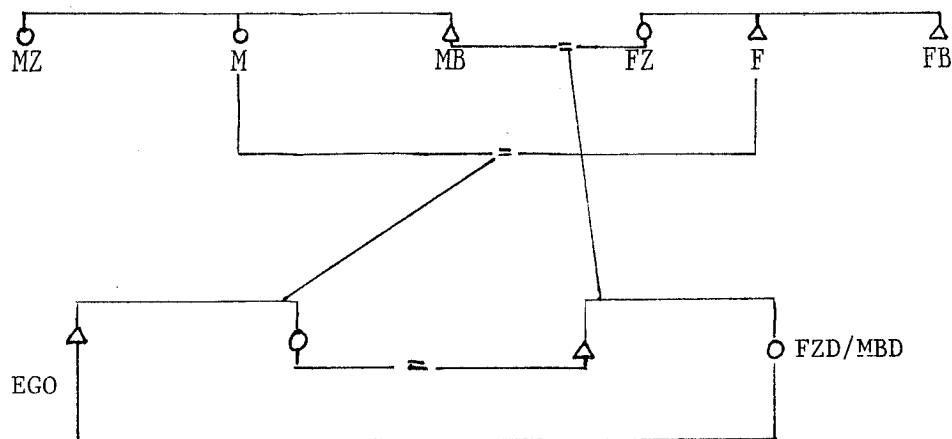
Given this unusual marriage preference, the kinship terminology of the Helambu Sherpas was collected. Not surprisingly, it follows normal cross-cousin terminology.

In the first ascending generation of the diagrams on pages 60 and 61, we find typical cross-cousin terminology in the names for spouses. Here FZH is called by the same term as MB and MBW is called by the same term as FS. Similarly, FBW is called by the same term as MS and MSH is called by the same term as FB. Since this type of marriage system consists of sister exchange, the kinship terms reflect the ideal norm.

HELAMBU SEMANTIC SPACE KINSHIP DIAGRAM*

		Male		Female			
		Older	Younger	Younger	Older		
+ 2	lineal (lin.)	MEME		iBi			
	Collateral (col.)						
	Patrilateral lin.						
+ 1	patrilateral	Papa		ama			
	matrilateral	ɔwu		ani			
		ažan		cheche			
0	lin.	ada	N''	Numu	aže		
	Col.						
- 1	lin.	bitsɔ		phom			
	col.	tshɔwu		tshamo			
- 2	lin.	tshɔwu		tshamo			
	col.						

* Not including affinal terminology.



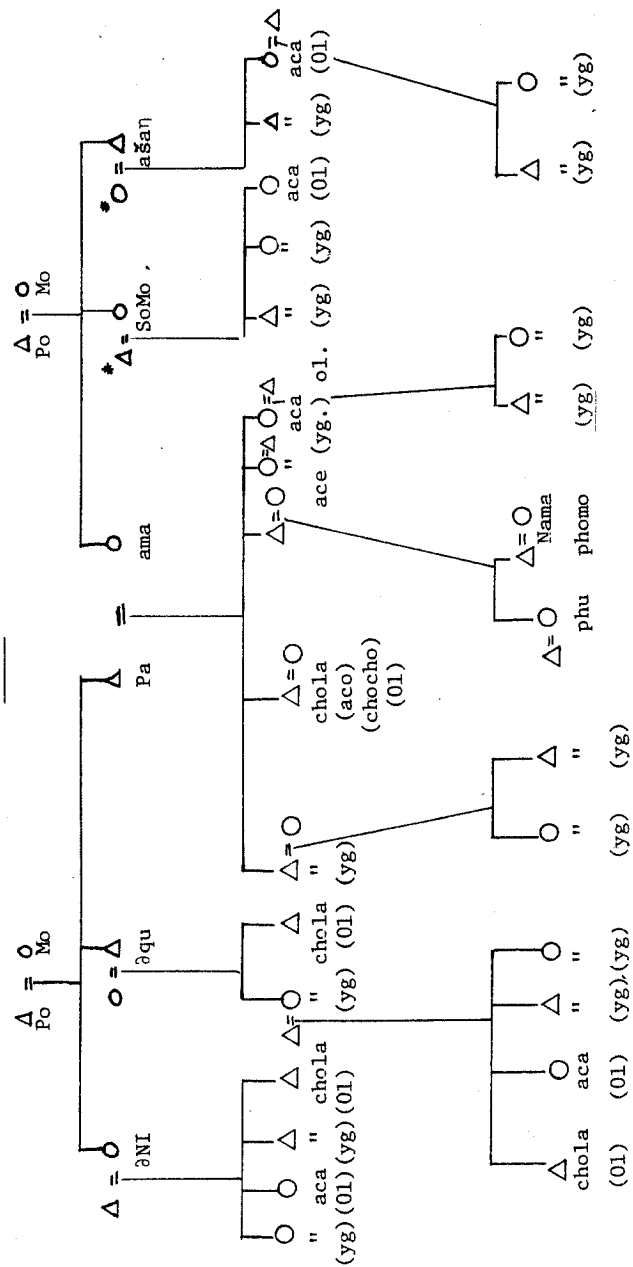
Thus, ideally, Ego's MZH is his FB and his FBW is his MZ. This is in fact how the Helambu terminology sorts them.

Lhasa: Kinship

The Lhasa (Ü region) system differs markedly from that of Helambu. First, there is no cross-cousin marriage, this being considered heinous incest. In fact, exogamy is defined by a bilateral kindred which is delimited at seven generations patrilaterally, & five (or seven) matrilaterally. Second, polyandry and other plural marriage arrangements¹⁰ are typical. Third, there are no clans at all. The term ru (rus)¹¹ which is sometimes claimed to mean clan in Tibet and is actually used in Khumbu to mean that -- in Lhasa simply connotes paternal relatives. The term sha ('flesh') is used for maternal relatives.

Although Lhasa kinship terminology is not as different as one might expect, a major difference does exist with respect to spouse terms.

LHASA



* No special term for FaS, Hu, FaBa W, M BaW., M BaW., MB, Hu

LHASA SEMANTIC SPACE KINSHIP DIAGRAM*

		Male		Female	
		Older	Younger	Younger	Older
	lin.	Poo		Moo	
	+ 2 ol				
+ 1	lin.	Paa		ama	
	Patrilateral	əqu		aNi	
	Matrilateral	asaŋ		Samo	
0	lin.	aco	oo	aca	
	Col.				
- 1	lin.	phu		phomo	
	col.	aco	oo	aca	
- 2	lin.				
	col.				

* Not including affinal terminology.

Unlike the Helambu terminological system, in Lhasa the spouses of "uncles" the "aunts" have no designated terms. In address, sometimes names are used and sometimes various kin terms are used. For example, in one case I know well an asang's (MB) wife is actually called aja, the term for older female of own generation (although she is clearly not of ego's generation). In referring to spouses Lhasans will describe them as 'the wife of my...'

Khumbu: Kinship

Intermediate in many respects between Helambu & Lhasa are the Sherpas of Khumbu who have been described by Haimendorf¹¹. On the one hand, like Lhasa, they have no cross cousin marriages but do have polyandrous marriages. On the other, like Helambu they do have exogamous patri-clans and identical inheritance patterns. The clans, however, do not correspond in name with those of Helambu, and are not the sole determinant of exogamy since in Khumbu maternal relatives are also ineligible for marriage. Their kinship terminology reflects this.

The kinship terms presented in the following diagram differ somewhat from those presented in Haimendorf¹². In ego's generation Haimendorf cites separate terms for parallel and cross-cousins, patrilaterally and matrilaterally. My informants, however, use "sibling terms" and explain the discrepancy by saying that Haimendorf's terms are "archaic" or "literary" and are not actually used. In any case, the terms I elicited are:

KHUMBU SEMANTIC SPACE KINSHIP DIAGRAM*

		Male		Female	
		Older	Younger	Younger	Older
	lineal (lin.)	aba gaga		ama gaga	
	+ 2 Collateral (col.)				
+ 1 Col.	lin.	aba		ama	
	Patrilateral	awu		aNi	
	Matrilateral	a ^Y an		URU	
	lin.	a ^Y o	Nug	Num	a ^Y i
0	col.	phu ^Y un		phom	
	lin.				
	col.	a ^Y o	Nug	Num	a ^Y i
	lin.	tshawo		tshamo	
- 2	col.				

* Not including affinal terminology.

These terms generally correspond to the Helambu ones with only two relatively minor differences: (1) asang is used as FZH in Helambu whereas in Khumbu awu is used. (2) the special term asa is used for FBW in Helambu: in Khumbu uru (MZ) is used.

Conclusion

In this brief comparison of the kinship and marriage patterns of Helambu Sherpas with the Sherpas of Khumbu & Tibetans of Lhasa, we have seen a variety of differences and similarities. The greatest differences exist between the Helambu Sherpas and the Lhasa Tibetans. The Khumbu Sherpas, although they differ from Lhasa Tibetans in possessing clans and in their spouse kinship terminology, still seem much more similar to the Lhasans than to the Helambu Sherpas with their, for Tibet and Khumbu, "incestuous" cross-cousin preferred marriages.

It is interesting to note, however, that the Sherpas view the interrelationships differently. As Barth has pointed out, in Ethnic Groups and Boundaries¹², differences or similarities perceived by outside observers have no significance with respect to ethnic identities unless they are also perceived to be relevant by the actors themselves. In this instance, both the Sherpas of Helambu and Khumbu consider themselves (and each other) to be Sherpas and not Bhotea (or bod-pa). Both also consider the Lhasans to be Bhotea and not Sherpa. This self-identification is all the more interesting when we consider that Nepalese generally use the term Bhotea to include not only Tibetans and Tibetanoids in the mountain regions of northern Nepal, but also Sherpas.

One wonders, then, whether in the long run the Nepali delimitation of ethnic boundaries will give impetus to the formation of a pan-Tibetanoid ethnic identity or whether the Sherpa delimitation will lead to changes in the Nepali conceptualization of Tibetanoids. In any case, Helambu is an area which is very important anthropologically & deserves serious research consideration in the future.

FOOTNOTES

1. D.B. Shrestha, C.B. Singh & B.M. Pradhan. Ethnic Groups of Nepal & their ways of living. H.M.G. Press, Kathmandu, 1972, p. 12.
2. Dor Bahadur Bista, People of Nepal, Ratna Pustak Bhandar, Kathmandu, 1967, p. 160.
3. Ch. von Furer-Haimendorf. The Sherpas of Nepal, Buddhist Highlanders, London, 1964 p. A.W. Macdonald gives some Helambu clan names in his article "Les Tamang vus par l'un d'eux" published - L'homme, VI, 1, Paris, 1966, p. 27-58, note 94. See also the list of Tamang clan-names to be found in the same article.

4. The phrasing seems to imply to some doubt with respect to the validity of this claim.
5. The local etymology of the term is that "hèy" being the Sherpa term for 'potato' and "lapu" the term for 'radish', the name of the district thus refers to the two main crops of the area.
6. Dor Bista, op.cit., p. 55. See also Macdonald, ibid.
7. He also cites a Ghale class among Gurungs (p. 78).
8. R. Fox, Kinship & Marriage, Penguin Books, 1969, p. 200-202.
9. Tibetanoid is used for any Buddhist or Bon-po speaking a dialect of Tibetan.
10. For a more detailed discussion of Central Tibetan marriage & family organization, see M.C. Goldstein, "Stratification, Polyandry & Family Structure in Tibet", Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, vol. 27, 1971.
11. Haimendorf, op.cit.
12. F. Barth, Ethnic Groups and Boundaries, Little Brown, 1969, pp. 1-39.

The Role of Kinship in the Formation of Janakpurdham Pilgrim Groups

Richard Burghart

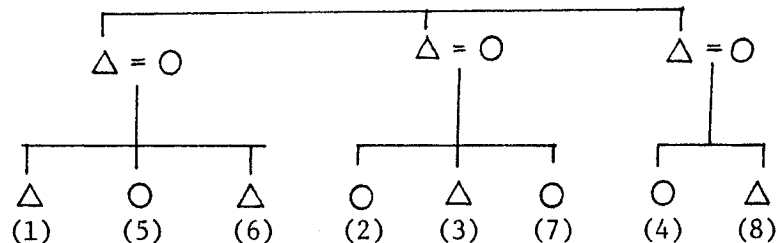
The annual cycle of religious festivals which are celebrated by pilgrims and devotees of the Vaisnavite cult in Janakpurdham include Sri Rām Navmī (Caitra Sukla Paksa 9), Sri Jānkī Navmī (Vaisākh Sukla Paksa 9), Jhūlā (Sravan Sukla Paksa 3-15), Vijay Daśnamī (Āswīn Sukla Paksa 1-10), Diwali (Kārtik Kṛṣṇa Paksa 14), Hanuman Jayantī (Kārtik Sukla Paksa 14), Vivāha Panchāmi (Mārg Sukla Paksa 5), and the Janakpur Madhya Parikrama (Phālgun Sukla Paksa 1-14), plus a number of fullmoon days which have special significance for the Vaisnavites such as Guru Purnima (Āṣāḍh Sukla Paksa 15) and Kojagra (Āswīn Sukla Paksa 15). On these occasions between ten thousand and two hundred thousand pilgrims from all over Mithila (both Janakpur aṅgal, Nepal and Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga and Madhubani jillas of North Bihar, India) converge on Janakpurdham to celebrate the dramatic re-enactment of the Ram Lila. Some of the pilgrims come by train or by bus; others by ox cart or foot. Except for sadhus and aged widows, whose life style resembles that of an ascetic, most of the pilgrims travel in groups. The purpose of this report is to describe the role of kinship in the formation of groups of Maithili pilgrims who come to Janakpurdham to celebrate a mela.

1. Maithil Kinship system: It is often said by Maithili that all the people in the world may be divided into three categories: one's inferiors, one's superiors, and one's equals (chota, bara, barābar), and although the thrust of this saying is that all human relations may be so classified, nevertheless the saying may also be applied without too many difficulties to the Maithil kinship system. There are those to whom ego should show respect, those who should show respect to ego, and those whom ego may treat on familiar terms as his equals.

1.2 The first category of those to whom ego should show respect comprise ego's father, ego's mother, ego's father's brother, ego's father's brother's wife, ego's father's sister, ego's father's sister's husband, ego's mother's brother, ego's mother's brother's wife, ego's mother's sister, ego's mother's sister's husband, ego's father's father, ego's father's mother, ego's mother's father, and ego's mother's mother. Among members of ego's own generation he shows respect to all of his brothers and sisters who are senior to him by birth (bhaiya, didi) and all of his cousin brothers and cousin sisters (also referred to as bhaiya and didi) but more particularly as cacera bhaiya, caceri didi, phuphera bhaiya, phupheri didi, mumiyot bhaiya, mumiyot didi, mausiyot bhaiya, mausiyot didi) who are his seniors by birth. Seniority by birth is calculated as comprising all those brothers and sisters of ego's generation who are born prior to ego. The relative seniority of

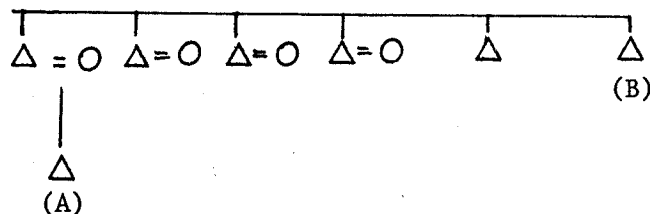
one's parents is not taken into account. Thus in diagram (1), where the numbers indicate the order of birth, son number 3 shows respect to cousin brother number 1 and sister number 2, but he does not show respect to cousin brother number 6 even though cousin brother number 6's father is senior to son number 3's father.

(1)



Among his affines, ego shows respect to his spouse's father, spouse's mother and all of his affines of his spouse's father and spouse's father's father generation living in the village of his spouse's father. Finally if ego is a woman she will show respect to her husband and her husband's elder brothers and elder sisters. In brief the principles underlying respect in the kinship system are the hierarchy of precedant paternal, maternal, and affinal generations and seniority within one's own generation of siblings. Sexuality is the basis for respect in only one case --- that of wife to her husband, and actual age is not a factor at all outside of one's own generation. For example diagram (2), if ego (A) is the eldest child of his father and ego's father is the eldest of six brothers, it may be possible that ego (A) is older than ego's father's youngest brother (B). Nevertheless ego (A) will show respect to B because B is his father's brother.

(2)



1.3 The second category is of those who must show respect to ego; in other words, the converse of all the reciprocal relationships mentioned in the previous paragraph. In ego's generation all brothers and sisters (bhai, bahan) and cousin brothers and cousin sisters (also bhai, bahan) who are ego's juniors by birth show respect to ego. All of ego's own offspring, his brother's offspring (bhatija, bhatiji) and his sister's offspring (baigana, baigani) and their spouses and the offspring of their marriages should also show respect to ego. If ego is a man then his wife will show respect to him and his younger brothers' wives will show respect to him.

1.4. The relationship between ego and his spouse's elder brothers and elder sisters, and between ego and his, the spouses of his younger brothers and younger sisters and his younger brothers' and sisters' spouses' elder brothers and elder sisters is somewhat equivocal, for two respect principles work in contrary senses. For this reason these relationships have been mentioned separately. On the one hand ego (male) must respect his wife's elder brothers and elder sisters for they are senior to his wife. Ego (male) is on equal terms with his wife's younger brothers and sisters and may joke with them, but they may not joke in the presence of their elder brothers and sisters. Thus when ego (male) visits his wife's natal household he is obliged to respect his wife's elder brothers and elder sisters. Moreover some day his wife's elder brother will be the ghar malik of his wife's natal household and property --- a position which ego himself cannot hold unless he himself is the first born in his generation of brothers and sisters. On the other hand members of the family which give the bride in marriage are considered inferior to the members of the household which accept the bride. Gifts (dan, whereby donor and receiver are not members of the same family) are customarily given by inferior to his superior in return for which the superior gives his blessing (asirvad) to the inferior. At the time of marriage samskara, it is the father of the bride who gives his daughter to the father of the bridegroom acting on behalf of his son in the ceremony called kanya dan. Following the marriage the bride is under her husband's father's authority and later under her husband's authority (adhikar). That someone from one family can pass within the adhikar of another family also contributes to the notion that the bride's family is inferior to the bridegroom's family. When two principles of respect conflict with one another in this manner, they do not counterbalance one another and create a relationship of equality. Instead they create a relationship of mutual respect. As far as I have been able to observe, the relationship of wife-giver to wife-taker is one of respect which is expressed mostly in ritual and in offering of gifts. Years after a marriage, ego (male) will continue to offer dhoti and other gifts to his younger sister's husband (bahanoi) when he comes for visit. The respect of ego to his wife's elder brother expresses itself more in the personal conduct of ego when he visits his affines. When I queried men concerning this relationship, all of them said that they must show respect to their wife's elder brother and not vice versa. Yet when I asked them about their relationship with their bahanoi they all said that they must respect their bahanoi because the bahanoi is a wife-taker. When I mentioned that for their bahanoi they will be his wife's elder brother and therefore the bahanoi must show respect to them, they explained this seeming contradiction by saying that in practice the relationship is one of mutual respect but in theory it is always the wife-taker who is superior to the wife-giver. This stigma of wife-taker being superior to the wife-giver also exists in the ego (male) son's or daughter's spouse's father, ego (male) son's or daughter's spouse's mother, ego

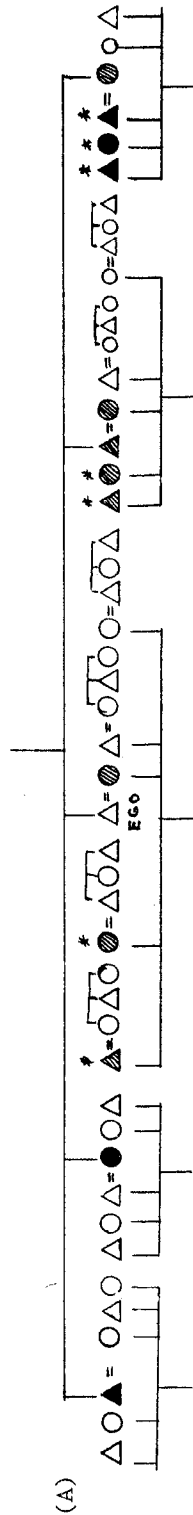
(female) son's or daughter's spouse's mother relationships, but again in practice the father of the bride and the father of the bridegroom treat each other as equals. They may embrace each other with open arms and may joke with one another. So also may the mothers of the bridegroom and bride. The ego's (female) son's or daughter's spouse's father relationship is one of respect, however, and is characterized by extreme avoidance. They may never meet one another and she is not permitted to enter within the family compound of her son-in-law or daughter-in-law. The father of the bride should also not visit his son-in-law's household until his daughter has given birth to a child, nor should he ever accept hospitality and gifts (except for betel, supari, tea, etc.) from his son-in-law, for as a wife-giver it is he who should be giving such things to the son-in-law and not vice versa. This rule, however, is not always obeyed so strictly in practice.

1.5. The third category comprises those people who ego may treat on familiar terms as his equals. It is now clear that ego may find his equals only among the affines of his own generation for all of ego's patrilineal, matrilineal, and affinal relations of previous generations, all of ego's brothers and sisters and cousin brothers and sisters, and all of their as well as ego's offspring and the offsprings' affines are people to whom ego must show respect or who must show respect to ego. Ego's equals therefore comprise his (her) elder brother's wife, elder brother's wife's brothers and sisters, elder sister's husband, elder sister's husband's brothers and sisters, younger brother's wife's younger brothers and younger sisters, younger sister's husband's younger brothers and younger sisters; ego's spouse's elder brother's wife, his (her) spouse's elder brother's wife's brothers and sister, his (her) spouses elder sister's husband, his (her) spouse's elder sister's husband's brothers and sisters, his (her) spouse's younger brother and that younger brother's wife, his (her) spouse's younger brother's wife's brothers and sisters, his (her) spouse's younger sister and her husband, and his spouse's younger sister's husband's brothers and sisters. (See diagram three) Finally as was mentioned in the preceding paragraph the father of the bride and father of the bridegroom and the mother of the bride and mother of the bridegroom in practice treat one another as equals.

1.6. Friendship and companionship must also be mentioned, for even though they are relationships which extend beyond the family and often across caste divisions, still these relationships are referred to in the idiom of kinship and the correct behaviour associated with different categories of fictitious kin is similar to behaviour between real kin. Close friendship with someone outside one's family is sealed on the full moon day of Sravan in the ceremony called Raksika Bandhan during which time a boy (or man)'s sister ties a coloured thread about the right wrist of her brother and offers to him her blessing and in return the brother offers appropriate gifts to his sister. This ceremony normally takes place within the family, but in the case of close friends a woman

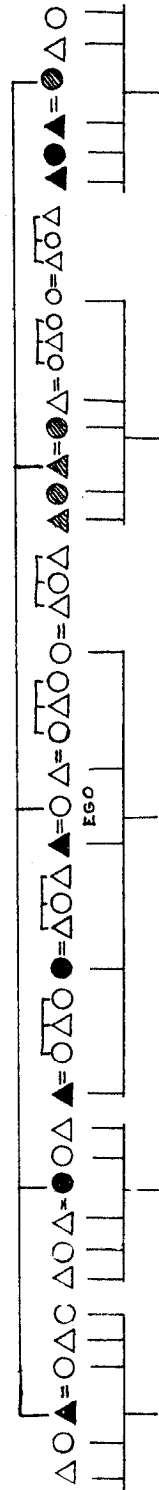
may tie the cord about the wrist of her brother's friend. For example in diagram four, ego (female) (2) ties the cord about the wrist of her brother's friend (3) who offers her suitable gifts. Meanwhile the friend's sister (4) ties a cord around the wrist of ego (female)'s brother (1). Boy number 3 has become the

Diagram (3)



Or if ego is a woman the diagram remains essentially unchanged:

(B)

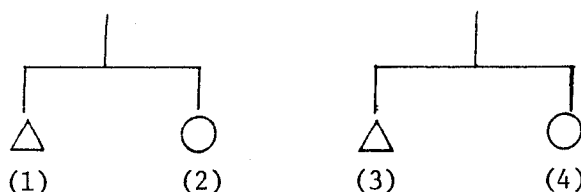


* In practice this is relationship of mutual respect

- to whom ego shows respect
- with whom ego is equal
- ▲ who should show respect to ego.

brother of girl number 2. Since girl number 2 is boy number 1's sister, boy number 1 and boy number 3 have become brothers, and, in fact, henceforth the two friends will refer to one another as brothers (bhai).

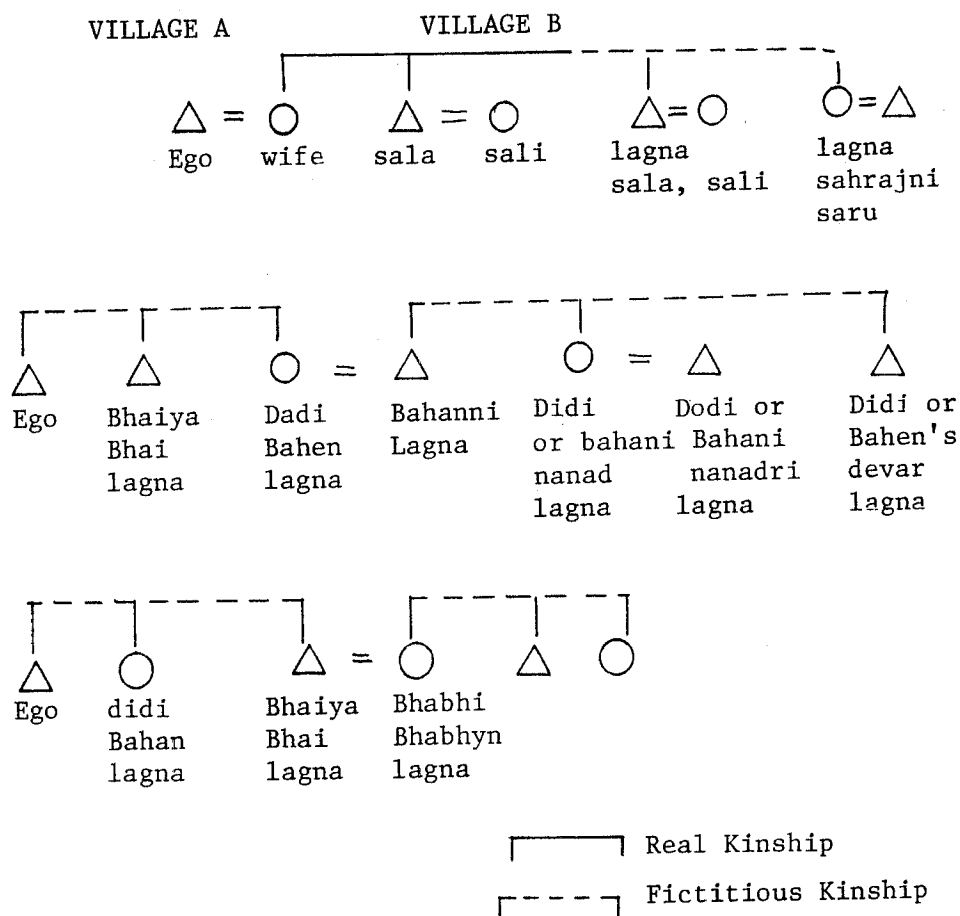
(4)



1.7. Informal bonds of companionship that extend outside one's network of kin and outside one's caste are also thought of in terms of kin categories, especially when one is referring to the people of one's village (gaonwala, gaonwali) vis-a-vis the people of some other village with whom someone in ego's village has real bonds of affinity. The expression gaonwala or gaonwali is used in a variety of senses. It can mean everyone who lives in a village, but usually the word has a more restricted meaning than that. One informant sketched a map of his village whereupon he noted the temples, ponds, and households of the various castes. The Sudra houses built along one side of a pond he referred to as the homes of his gaonwala but the Muslim families living on the other band of the same pond were referred to as Muslims. He explained this by saying that because one does not have relationships (rista) with Muslims, they are not usually considered one's gaonwala. The word gaonwala therefore implies a network of social relationships rather than a geographical entity. Gaonwali is usually used in an even more restricted sense which excludes all women who marry into a village until they have approached middle age; in other words, when their children have grown to adulthood and they may walk freely about their husband's village with the end of their sari pulled down no further to the front edge of their hairline. Until that time, however, women who have married into a village are considered to be the gaonwali of their natal village. With reference to another village, ego will refer to everyone in his own village insofar as he associates with them in the idiom of kinship. Gaonwala and gaonwali (women born in his village) slightly younger than ego will become like (lagna) his younger brothers and sisters, and those slightly older than ego will be his elder brothers and sisters. Men of his father's age will be considered like a father's brother (kaka). People from neighbouring villages with whom someone in ego's village has real bonds of affinity will become like ego's brother-in-law or sister-in-law. For example, ego married a woman from a neighbouring village. One day a boy from ego's father-in-law's village arrived in ego's village. The boy was of approximately the same age as ego's wife and of the same caste but different family than ego's wife. Ego asked the boy, "Ap kaun hai?" and the boy replied, "mujhe sala lagta hai", and for the boy, ego's village was like his bahanaure and ego was like his bahanoi. Just as ego may treat his younger sala as his equal and may joke with

him so also may he joke with the boy from his wife's natal village. Possible fictitious relationships between age-mates of two different villages are sketched below in diagram (5).

(5)



2.1. Correct behaviour between relatives: An understanding of the correct behaviour between relatives would necessitate a description of the rights and duties of each kinship status concerning management of family property inheritance rights, ritual obligations, authority to arrange marriages of offspring, etc., which is beyond the scope of this field report. Therefore correct behaviour between relatives will be described only insofar as it relates to the formation of groups of pilgrims to go to a mela and the arrangements for hospitality that can be made at a pilgrimage centre such as Janakpurdham.

2.2. The relationship of superior to inferior and vice versa is often referred to as gor lagna (to touch feet) and asirvad dena (to give blessing) for the inferior touches the feet of the superior who in turns extends his right arm outward with the palm

of the right hand open in sign of blessing. This is more a symbol of the superior inferior relationship than anything else and as such its use is often reserved for symbolic occasions such as the time of marriage, the time of parting on a long journey, or as an appeal to one's superior for mercy or the favourable settlement of a dispute which it is the authority of the superior to arbitrate. For those vastly superior to ego such as his guru or Bhagawan respect is symbolized by full prostration whereby the inferior lies down on the ground before the superior and touches the ground with eight parts of his body (both feet, both knees, both hands, chest, and forehead). For those only slightly superior to ego, ego will join the palms of his hands together and greet the superior with namaskar, and the superior will return the greeting. If ego should be walking with a superior on the trail, he will follow behind the superior, and if ego and a superior should approach one another from opposite directions on the trail, the inferior will step aside to let the superior pass. If inferior wants to speak to his superior, he should remain at a respectful distance from the superior and await the superior's order (hukum) to approach and speak. If superior is standing, then inferior should remain standing and if superior is seated then upon the superior's order the inferior may sit down at a slight distance and below (the superior will sit on a bed, chair, or blanket while the inferior sits on the ground) his superior. At a bhojan the superior is served food first and no one begins to eat until the superior has begun eating, and no one leaves his place to wash his hands after the meal until the superior has done so. Woman, as inferior to their husbands, will not begin to eat until their husband has finished his meal. In some cases (God - man, guru - disciple, father - wife and children, Brahman - Halkhor, Camar, Dom) the inferior may eat the leavings from the plate of the superior. The inferior should always obey the orders of the superior without questioning the superior's motives. The superior assumes some responsibility for the welfare of those inferiors under his authority or to which he stands in some relation, but outside the family it is often the inferior who gives gifts to the superior in return for the superior's blessing. Rarely would a superior give someone from outside his family a gift of money for the inferior cannot bless the superior. Such transfers of money when they occur usually take the form of loans at somewhat crippling rates of interest.

2.3. The above-described behaviour is correct behaviour in all kinds of superior inferior relationships such as Bhagawan to man, guru to disciple, purohit to client, higher caste to lower caste, zamindar to indebted labourers, Raja to subjects, and so forth. Within the network of kinship, however, a number of factors, such as age, wealth, propinquity, ties of affection, westernized education rather than Sanskritic education, and personal inclination, mitigate the idealized expression of the superior inferior relationship. A child will not show respect to his elder brothers and sisters until he begins to share some of the responsibilities in the

home. A young man may show great affection to his wife in which case the man's mother will complain that he is making his wife superior to his mother (mata ke upar). The relationship of a boy to his mother's brother is characterized by privileged begging and affection and more informality than is possible in a boy's relationship with his father's brother. During the months of quarreling which precedes the division of the joint family property down to the last tree in the garden and the last pot in the kitchen, the younger brothers may not show very much respect to their elder brothers, and after the division of the joint family property the sons will still show respect to their parents but this respect will be diminished somewhat by the fact that the authority to manage the family property has now passed out of the parents' control.

2.4. The inferior superior relationship of a woman to her husband's elder brother, husband's father and father's brother, and husband's father in addition to the description in paragraph 2.2 is also characterized by avoidance. To these categories of men such a woman is considered to be untouchable (acut). She may not show her face to these affines but must always pull the end of her sari down from her hairline to the mouth or to the tip of her nose. She may not directly address these affines but instead should communicate to them through her children, husband's younger brothers, or through her husband. She may not serve food or water to her avoided affines although these affines may drink water fetched from the well by her and may eat food cooked by her. She may not enter a room occupied by these affines and if by accident her husband's elder brother should step into a room in which she is sitting or by accident he should touch her or her clothing then the elder brother must immediately bathe to become pure again. (I have been told that the avoidance between wife and wife's husbands father is less strict than avoidance of wife and wife's elder brother, but I have not yet been able to corroborate this. For example a woman may touch her husband's father's feet but may only touch the ground in front of her husband's elder brother's feet).

2.5. With those people to whom ego may treat as his equals, ego may joke, mock curse, mock fight as well as simply be at ease in a situation of informality. This category of relation is often referred to as one's mazak kerne wale. With his male equals a man may smoke beedis, cigarettes, and ganja or take bhang. Ego may touch his wife's younger sister's body and fondle her or slap and pinch her in mock fighting. He may observe her in half dress, and I was told that some men even have sexual intercourse in a discreet manner with their wife's younger sister if she would be willing. If ego's wife or wife's elder brothers and elder sisters should learn of this, however, they would roundly curse the man, but I was told that the man would not be punished which presumably indicates that such behaviour is vaguely within the bounds of the relationship. (I cannot yet say whether this actually happens or if it is

only the fertile imaginations of several informants who believe it happens). Once ego's wife's younger sister marries, however, such extremes of behaviour would incite a conflict with his wife's younger sister's husband. Still even after her marriage a man may playfully pinch, slap, and touch his wife's younger sister as well as his wife's younger brother's wife. In addition to the times when a man visits his father-in-laws after the marriage, there are a number of regular and occasional situations in which joking takes place. The most notable, of course, is on the Holi festival and also on Jur sital puja on the occasion of the New Year when equals (usually equals between the ages of ten and twenty) toss mud and cow-dung cakes at one another. At the time of marriage while the bride's elder brother is serving food to the bridegroom and members of his party, the bride's younger brothers and sisters and her gaonwala and gaonwali from behind a curtain tease and make fun of the bridegroom's party. One very raucous wedding was described to me in which after the bhojan the bridegroom's party retaliated by tossing coloured powder, curd, and even the leavings from their plates in the direction of the people behind the curtain. As the bridegroom's party left the courtyard thinking that victory was theirs, the bride's gaonwali mounted a second attack and emerging from the kitchen tossed chili powder in the faces of the bridegroom's age mates. The bridegroom's agemates got their revenge several months later.

2.6. A number of factors mitigate the full range of behaviour implied in the joking relationship. First equals should not joke with one another or appear in a state of intoxication or smoke beedies and cigarettes in front of anyone to whom they must show respect. (If a man and his elder brother sit together on the veranda with backs turned, the younger brother may smoke a cigarette). Second as was noted in paragraph 1.2 it is possible that some of ego's equals may be twenty years older or younger than he in which case one's enthusiasm for joking is dampened somewhat. Third, although a woman may joke with her husband's younger brothers and her husband's brother's wives, because they all live in the same compound and share certain responsibilities they are more likely to treat one another as brothers and sisters rather than play practical jokes on one another. Finally the separation of some categories of affines limits the range of joking. For example, ego (female) may joke with her elder sister's husband's sister but after marriage she and her elder sister's husband's sister are likely to be dwelling in distant villages so that only on the occasion of a mela would there be the possibility that ego (female) may meet such an equal and joke with her.

3.1. Formation of groups of kin to go to a mela: Except for the reciprocal relationship of ego (female) son's or daughter's spouse's father whereby extreme avoidance is prescribed, there is no rule which prescribes what kin may or may not accompany one another on a journey outside one's village. The kinds of groups of kin which travel together, therefore, are formed on the basis of preferences

within the framework of the rules of correct behaviour among kinfolk and affines.

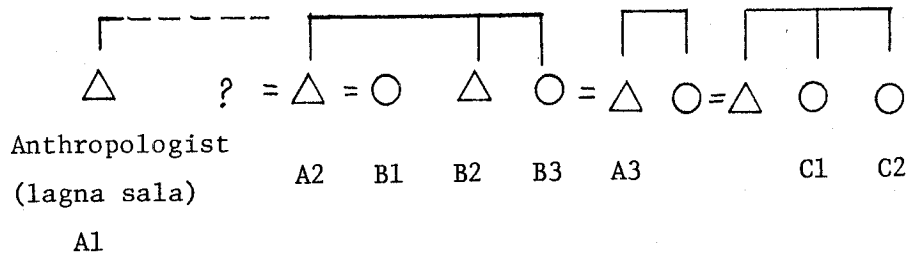
3.2. Permission to go on a mela is granted by the person under whose authority (adhikar) one lies. In principle any man may go to the mela as long as there is money to spare, no pressing agricultural duties, and at least one other man willing to remain behind to guard the household moveable property, and if the harvest is approaching one man is required in the fields to guard the crops from thieves. Permission then for a man to go to a mela would be made by his father or elder brother since they are the adhikari of the joint family household. (The granting of permission is not as formal a process as this description implies. In fact one is more likely not to be "granted" permission than to be granted permission). Permission for a woman to go to a mela would also be granted by the person under whose authority she lies, viz., her father, her husband, her husband's elder brother, or her husband's father. Prior to marriage a girl is under her father's authority, immediately after marriage she is under her father-in-laws authority. Several years after marriage (approximately the time of the birth of her first child) she begins to pass under the authority of her husband. Between the time of her betrothal and her marriage (usually no longer than six months in Mithila) a bride-to-be must conduct herself with more modesty than prior to her betrothal, but her father would not normally forbid her to go to a mela. Indeed there would be all the more reason for her to want to go, for it is often during such an occasion that she, surrounded by her sisters and gaonwali, and her future bridegroom, surrounded by his brothers and gaonwala, will be searching for one another to catch a glimpse from a distance of the person with whom they will pass the rest of their life. During the years immediately following her marriage when a woman is under the father-in-law's authority it would be highly unusual for her father-in-law to grant her permission to go a mela, for she is not normally permitted outside the household. She remains in a room of the house, must bathe and perform her ablutions in the darkness before dawn and after sunset. She must always cover her face, and by her mother-in-law's order only will she be allowed to raise her veil from her face up to her hair line. The only way in which a woman could at this time of her life go on a mela would be if she had, with her father-in-law's permission and her brother's escort, returned to her natal village for a visit of several months. Inside her natal household she may conduct herself as a daughter of the house and a gaonwali of her village. She is free to wander about her village and she need not lower the end of her sari down below her hair line. From her natal village she may go to a mela and at the mela ground she must conduct herself with reasonable modesty (sari pulled down to cover her eyes at least) and remain in the company of her elder brothers and elder sisters or her mother and father. This is not because she is obliged to do so by her own kin, but for fear that members of her husband's family might see her at the mela and tell her husband that she was conducting herself in a manner unbecoming a newly married woman.

3.3. The formation of groups of kin may be influenced by a variety of factors such as the distance of the household from Janakpurdham, and also by secondary reasons for going to a mela. For example, if the mela is near one's village unmarried gaonwali may go themselves to the mela, but if the distance is great or a bus or train journey is required women will be accompanied by a male guardian. People also come to Janakpurdham at the time of mela seeking medical care, repair of agricultural implements, markets for farm produce, etc., and these other reasons will obviously influence the arrangement of kinfolk going to a mela. Groups of kin arriving by bus and train will travel together, but if an entire family should walk to a mela or travel by at least two ox-carts then the men and boys will travel together in the one group and the women, daughters, and babies will follow thirty yards behind in a second group. One man will remain behind with the women. In a joint family of three generations it is usually the youngest brother of the middle generation who will remain behind with the women.

3.4. Once a family arrives at a mela site they will usually split up by generation and by sex. Young boys will go with their father or father's brother, young girls with their mothers. If there are no children the family will split up on generation and sex lines. Married women up to the age of forty will be accompanied by one man, however. Most young men prefer to celebrate a mela with their equals with whom they may smoke and chat informally or joke in a moderate way. (One may not joke immoderately at a mela for there may be one's superiors nearby). Since a man must conduct himself in a subdued manner before his elder brothers, often even within the generation the brothers will split up each searching for his gaonwala and gaonwale or his equals among his affines, and the gaonwale of his affinal village. At the month long mela held on the Geruka river on the occasion of the Pratham Bhadra month (the intercalary month of the leap year) a friend (A2), his younger sister's husband (A3) and myself walked to the mela outside Janakpurdham. (See diagram 6). My friend's sister (B3), wife (B1), and younger brother (B2) went separately, and we never saw them again. After bathing in the river, taking darshan at the temple, and eating ciura and dahi, we walked around the mela ground for an hour while my friend observed the women bathing in the river. Our companion (A3) saw his sister's nanads (C1 and C2) and affected disinterest in them. My friend (A2) wanted to return to Janakpurdham and so we left but his bahanoi (A3) insisted on stopping for a rest en route and then later to take betel. While taking betel "by chance" we noticed the two women (C1 and C2) only fifty yards down the trail from us. We walked on but our companion's (A3) pace slackened. The two stony faced nanads were only twenty yards behind us. My friend and I stepped up our pace leaving our companion (A3) behind. Further down the trail my friend and I stopped to smoke a beedi and we watched his bahanoi (A3) who had been glum all morning and his sister's stony faced nanads engaging in affectionate laughter. A3 had been wanting to joke with the two

women all morning but he couldn't until he had detached himself from my friend who was his wife's elder brother before whom he could not joke.

(6)



3.5. Though the tendency among men at a mela is to divide into smaller groups or even wander about alone, this is not the case with women. The women generally travel in fixed groups from start to finish while other groups or individuals with whom they may joke join them for a while and then split off. Concerning the formation of these groups of women, no married woman should travel unaccompanied by at least one other woman and unless the mela ground is quite close to one's village or the woman is over the age of forty years no woman should travel unaccompanied by at least one man as her guardian. A young man generally insists on a bodyguard for his wife for several reasons. First they may be distrustful of women who, when left to their own devices, may encourage an affair with another man. Second, a young man often spends part of the mela observing the beautiful women so he knows that other men will be similarly engaged and as much as he may hope for a little dalliance, he does not hope the same for his wife. Finally there is also the more genuine fear since about ten years of roving students from India and goondas who come to the at Janakpurdham and who have been known to rob, rape, and commit indignities before women so a man would want his wife to be adequately protected. Any man of her own generation or prior generation among her kin or affines may act as bodyguard for a woman. Also a "brother" whose wrist she has tied in the Raksika Bandhan ceremony may act as bodyguard; however, her husband will not usually permit a gaonwala of his or hers (i.e., lagna bhai) to act as guardian. The selection of the guardian depends on the availability of men, of course, and also on the husband's trust of his wife. If a man suspects his wife of infidelity, he will make sure that he or his elder brother along with his mother or father's brother's wife will keep a constant eye on his wife because one of the most usual ways in which an unfaithful woman arranges to meet her lover is to tell her husband that she is going to Janakpurdham with her kinfolk (her sister or brother's wife) to practice dharma and then once in town the sisters and/or brother's wife disappear and she meets her lover who has conveniently rented a hotel room for the day. Apart from this consideration, however, both men and

women will have certain preferences as to who will be the bodyguard. A woman prefers not to have her husband's elder brother, husband's father, or husband's father's father as guardian nor would such men want to be her guardian because the avoidance regulations create too many difficulties. Moreover, such a man could not be an effective bodyguard because she must eat and bathe apart from them, and if any emergency should arise, she should not even speak with them. Nor does a young man want to be a bodyguard for his wife because he wants to observe the beautiful ladies at the mela and his wife will curse him if she catches his eye wandering about the crowds. Also the man's gaonwala will laugh at him and call him an old man if he goes with his wife because only older married couples would go to a mela together. I was told that young men living in a city (where one may have a love marriage) would accompany their wives, but this was definitely not the rural way of life. If, however, a man should be obliged to go with his wife, he will prefer to travel apart from his elder brothers or father, for in their company his wife may not speak and he also must conduct himself in such a subdued manner that he will not be able to enjoy himself. Thus according to preferences a woman will travel to the mela and roam the mela ground in a group which may include her husband's brother's wives, husband's sisters, and her sister's husband's sisters, her own brothers' wives and her sisters and as a bodyguard there may be her husband's younger brother or her brothers' or sister's husband or her sister's husband's brother. In all these cases a woman may be relatively at ease and enjoy herself in an informal way although in each of these cases there is a relative degree of familiarity. For maximum joking a woman would travel with her sister's husband's brother. For a minimum of joking yet friendly companionship she would travel with her husband's younger brother.

3.6. If one's home is near Janakpurdham then young women may go to the mela without a guardian. I was told by Sudra informants that this is especially the case with Brahmin girls and my haphazard observations confirmed this. When I asked why this was so, Sudra informants hinted that Brahmin women were less virtuous than Sudra women. A Brahmin informant said, however, that because Brahmin women were virtuous they could travel alone but because Sudra women are likely to have affairs their husbands insist on a bodyguard to accompany them. As for women over the age of about forty they may travel with their sisters, husband's sisters, husband's brother's wives, or with their gaonwali or their husband's gaonwali. In the case of a longer mela like the fourteen-day circumambulation of Janakpurdham they may have a male guardian, but this is not necessary. An aged widow is not under her son's *adhikar* and it is for this reason that she of all women may travel alone to a mela if she so desires. Moreover, it is enjoined on all widows after one year of widowhood to pass the remainder of her life in meritorious activities such as going on pilgrimage. Many widows come to Janakpurdham for *Mas* during the month of Kartik, and some settle in Janakpurdham and pass the rest of their lives in the Vaisnavite *kuties* or the *Garib Dharmasala* of Ram Mandir.

4.1. The actual role of kinship in the arrangement of hospitality is minimal for two reasons. First most Maithili pilgrims do not have kinfolk or affines in Janakpurdham. Although Janakpurdham is a rapidly growing town, the increase in population has been mostly of Indian businessmen such as Marwari, and of Nepali administrative personnel neither of which a Maithili would be bound to by ties of kinship. Second even if one does have kin or affines in Janakpurdham, to be given a proper welcome by them as befitting one's status may involve a considerable expenditure not only on food but also on dhotis, saris, and other gifts, that a potential guest would not want to put his host under such a financial burden nor would the potential guest want to burden himself with the obligations of some day reciprocating this hospitality. Sometimes even less than full hospitality is a burden to the host. One man told me of the time he met his wife's father, mother, brother and several sisters on the banks of the Dudhmati. His story is worth telling not only to illustrate how difficult it is for some people to offer hospitality but also it illustrates the way in which joking takes place at a mela. On the occasion of Sita's birth (Sri Jānkī Navmī) people bathe in the Dudhmati at a place where it flows approximately one mile south west of town. The man in question comes from a large family with insufficient land so that all but one of the brothers must find non-agricultural work to support the family. The informant arrived at the Dudhmati to bathe in the waters and take darshan at the temple when he observed his wife's family bathing in the stream. Since they had come to Janakpurdham, he felt obliged to offer his affines at least a minimum of hospitality (the husband is not expected to offer full hospitality to his wife's father), but his pockets were empty so he evaded them and bathed several hundred yards upstream. The evasion, however, did not escape the notice of his affines. When he had bathed, his wife's younger sister called to him. He felt trapped and embarrassed. Not to greet his affines would be as much an insult as to greet them and not offer them tea, betel, and supari. His wife's younger sister understood exactly the predicament that he was in. That was why she had called him over. He chatted with his wife's family for a few minutes while his wife's younger sisters fought back their smiles watching his discomfiture. Finally when the conversation stalled, his wife's elder sister suggested he offer them tea and supari upon which this wife's younger sisters giggled and the man (their brother-in-law) turned red with shame. His wife's father suggested that if he would touch his feet then he might give him a blessing. Everyone broke out in laughter. The man touched his wife's father's feet, was given three rupees by him, and went off to buy tea, betel, and supari for his guests.

4.2. If ego's family should come to Janakpurdham as pilgrims and receive hospitality from his father-in-law or mother's brother (his father's brothers are likely to be living in his own village) then one may assume that ego's relatives are rather wealthy or that some other reason for a visit happens to coincide with the mela. The hospitality which a mother's brother or father-inlaw

would offer would be no different than hospitality normally offered except that ego's father's mother could not enter the courtyard of ego's mother's brother's home nor could ego's mother enter the courtyard of his father-in-law's home. Because of this in both cases the men in the party would enter the host's courtyard and partake of the bhojan while the women would remain together in the dharmasala or a nearby orchard. When the men have finished eating, women of the host's household would carry the bhojan to the female guests in the dharmasala or orchard. At nighttime all the male guests and all the female guests who need not avoid the hosts could sleep in the host's household but because some women must sleep outside it is likely that all women would sleep in the dharmasala along with all the men who do not have a privileged relationship with the host. In the case of the mother's brother as host, ego and his brothers may sleep at the hosts houses and in the case of the father-in-law ego and his younger brothers may sleep at the host's house.

4.3. The vows which a man takes upon becoming a bairagi and the vidhi and puja rituals which he performs as an individual are well-formulated and obligatory. There are no regulations concerning the relationship between a bairagi and his kinfolk and although sadhus have various ideas concerning the nature of this relationship, there is no central authority in the sect to ensure uniformity in practice. Thus whatever relationship a sadhu maintains with his family is largely based on his own free will (kusi). In becoming a bairagi, the Ramanandi sect becomes one's gotra, one's guru is like a father, those sadhus initiated by the same guru are one's guru bhai and guru bahan, and one's guru's guru bhai is one's kaka guru. There is no ceremony which cuts a bairagi off from his family although it is generally recognized that a sadhu is outside the adhikar of the joint family in which he was raised as a child. In two kutis I have met the widowed mothers of a sadhu who had come to live with their son upon the death of their husband. Other sadhus never set foot in their natal household upon becoming bairagi and particularly avoid their mother and father. If for some reason they passed through their natal village they would spend the night in a village temple or in the home of a Vaisnavite devotee. One man became a sadhu and built a kuti in a village only one mile from his natal village. For the next forty years until his death he never set foot in the village in which he was born. Thus whether or not the relatives of a sadhu who come to Janakpurdham for a mela will expect hospitality from their relative (as sadhu) depends largely on the particular relationship which a sadhu maintains with his relatives. Moreover, by becoming a sadhu a man acquires status superior to any kinship status; therefore it is the householder who should give hospitality or alms to the sadhu in return for his blessing. In a village ten miles south of Janakpurdham (in Darbhanga jilla, Bihar) a man became a communist, committed robbery in the name of politics, and later fled the region. In Banaras he became a sadhu and ten years later returned to his village and lived in a temple. His father became his disciple. It was the

father who touched the feet of the son (as sadhu), and the son gave the blessing. On several occasions I have seen in kutis the relatives of a sadhu arrive with rice, dal, atta, ghee, sugar, and milk for a bhojan. Their relative (as sadhu) cooked the food, offered it to Bhagawan, and the the family and sadhu ate it as prasad.

In Janakpurdham there are approximately two hundred Vaisnavite kutis. The management of these kutis is diverse: (1) Raj Guthi (Sthan) kutis managed directly by the Guthisansthan, (2) Chhut (Sthan) kutis indirectly managed by the Guthisansthan, (3) Jati kutis managed by a caste or sub-caste council. (4) Ghar kutis managed by the landowner who had built and endowed the kuti and after his death by his descendents, (5) Ghar kutis managed by a family of sadhus (i.e., a man who becomes sadhu after the birth of a son and the son becomes sadhu and inherits the kuti after the birth of a son, and so on), and (6) finally kutis which are managed by sadhus and are passed on to the disciple of the reigning mahant. In the second, fifth, and sixth kinds of kutis the sadhus are both pujari and manager, but in the first, third, and fourth kinds of kutis the status of the sadhu is as pujari/dekhnewala only. He performs puja to Bhagawan in the kuti temple, watches over the kuti moveable property, and prepares food to be served first to Bhagawan and then to himself and the resident sadhus in the kuti. As pujari the sadhu has no control over the management of the kuti funds and landed wealth. He is appointed by the Guthisansthan, caste council, or zamindar and may be dismissed by them. Upon the death of the pujari the management is not obliged to appoint the pujari's disciple as the new pujari. For this reason few pujari dekhnewala sadhus have disciples. As dekhnewala the sadhu is usually not in a position to offer hospitality, and when he does it is to other sadhus rather than his relatives or householders. For example almost one hundred years ago a pious zamindar of Mahottari jilla had a kuti built in Janakpurdham and alienated thirty-five bighas of his land to Ram and Sita. The land was to be used by the kuti but managed by the zamindar and his descendants. At that time the pujari was able to offer huge bhojans at the times of a mela. The zamindar died some years back, and now his grandsons manage the kuti. The grandsons are not interested in dharma and provide the pujari with ninety ser of rice and ten rupess (to buy vegetables and oil) monthly. Since two sadhus and two servants live in the kuti, the ninety ser of rice and ten rupees is just sufficient for their needs. One bigha of land yields annually between twenty-five and thirty-five maund of rice, and the zamindar's grandsons provide the kuti with twenty-seven maunds annually. In other words thirty-four out of thirty-five bighas of land have been diverted by the zamindar's grandsons to serve their personal use rather than for the use of the kuti. (In fact since the land is cultivated under the bateya system whereby the tenant farmer claims half of the yield, only seventeen bighas of net income have been diverted to their personal use). Thus the present pujari lives in a wealthy kuti and is unable to offer hospitality

to anyone all. Of course, not all ghar kutis are manipulated by the management. Still in most cases it is relatives of the management if not the management itself which partakes of the hospitality of the kuti rather than relatives of the sadhu. In the case of the kuti just described at the time of the mela the management arrives at the kuti with an extra ration of food for all the guests. Whether or not this qualifies to be called hospitality is open to question. The guests are often the same people as the hosts.

4.4. People coming to Janakpurdham may also seek hospitality from a kuti which they consider to be their "village kuti". A ghar kuti built in Janakpurdham by a village zamindar is referred to by the name of the village in which the zamindar resides. As was mentioned in paragraph 1.7 the zamindar and his family are linked with their gaonwala in informal ties of companionship which are cast in the idiom of kinship. Pilgrims from the zamindar's village who are like brothers, father's brothers, nephews, nieces, etc., to the zamindar might also receive hospitality at the zamindar's kuti. There is another sense in which the word "village kuti" is used. A man may become a sadhu and come to Janakpurdham to live. The land which he inherited or will inherit as a member of a joint-family is alienated to Ram and Sita and cultivated under tenancy or indentured labour. The income from the land is often sufficient to support the sadhu but not enough to build a kuti (a kuti usually comprises at least a temple, storeroom, and kitchen) and purchase several katta (1/20th of a bigha) or land in Janakpurdham upon which to build his kuti. To raise this money the sadhu will solicit funds from the people of his natal village and the surrounding villages regardless of caste or kinship ties. One sadhu even travelled as far away as Assam to collect funds from the young men of his village who because of lack of land were obliged to migrate to parts of India and seek work in factories. Thus at the time of a mela people from the sadhu's natal village may come to the kuti. In both this case and as well as the former case of the zamindar type ghar kuti the hospitality offered to lagna kinfolk usually amounts to nothing more than a place to sleep and to leave one's belongings. Guests will usually cook their own food in the kuti.

4.5. Those pilgrims coming to Janakpurdham who have no kinfolk or lagna kinfolk in town usually make their own arrangements for sleeping and eating. They may camp in the Tirhutiya Gacchi by Bishara Sagar, under the barsati of Dhanusa Sar or Ganga Sagar, in the dharmasala, or in the courtyard of the Ram Mandir or Janki Mandir. On days of a mela approximately five hundred temporary merchants set up stalls in the bazar or near the ponds selling fruits, vegetables, snacks, ciura, curd, and so forth as well as flowers and sweets to offer to Bhagawan in the temples. Pilgrims may purchase uncooked food in the bazaar and cook it at their campsite or they may eat ciura and dahi by the roadside. First the men of the party will eat and then after them the women. Women will

not enter a restaurant to eat, but the men will eat in a restaurant and then carry cooked food out to their female relatives who wait for them by a pond. A family may seek hospitality (a place to sleep, leave their belongings, and cook their food) in a kuti with which they have no relationship of caste or kinship, but they must respect the rules of the kuti and the presence of Bhagawan. The rules are not onerous but if the family is undisciplined and the sadhu temperamental, tension may brew. During the Ram Navmi mela a family stayed at a kuti by Bishara Sagar because they wanted a more secluded and protected place for their women and children and the dharmasala was overcrowded. On the principle day of the mela the sadhu at the kuti had engaged a purohit to preside over the annual re-installation of the Hanuman jhanda in the kuti courtyard. The sadhu was upset because the family remained in a corner of the kuti and did not come to observe the ceremony. Later when the family left some leavings of their food on the kuti courtyard without cleaning it up, the sadhu became furious. He announced to the family that a kuti is not a hotel and he is Bhagawan's servant not their servant. If they want someone to clean up their mess, they should check into a hotel where they might pay fifteen or twenty rupees for room charge. The family quickly cleaned up the mess. Wanting to restore good will the family head offered three rupees to the sadhu for the hospitality. The sadhu became even more furious and announced that the kuti and its land was in Ram and Sita's name. He is not Bhagawan's manager, but His servant. The head of the family got the message and laid three rupees at the feet of Ram and Sita in the temple. Within five minutes the family had cleared out of the kuti.

5.1. One of the best descriptions of correct behaviour among kinfolk and affines in Hindu literature is the Ram Carita Manusa by Goswami Tulsi Das and informants often had recourse to this book to illustrate behaviour such as Ram's unquestioning obedience to his father, the respect of Laksman, Bharat, and Satrughn to their elder brother Ram, and the worship by Sita of Ram as her Lord and husband. Just as Sita with her gaonwali went to the Parvati temple at Girijasthan, ten miles south of Janakpurdham, where she first saw Ram, so also may a young woman go with her gaonwali to a local mela or neighbouring temple. Just as Sita was accompanied by Laksman, her husband's younger brother, when they went to the jungle in exile, so also will a married woman go on pilgrimage with her husband's younger brother. The mela and sacred geography of Janakpurdham associated with the Ram Lila also fits in with the Maithil kinship system. The event's of Sita's childhood and her marriage with Ram may be followed by the devotee on a journey to the many ponds and temples within the sacred circle of the town. One may stop to bathe in the pond where Raja Janak washed Ram's feet before the marriage, or where Sita's gaonwali annointed and washed her body during the week prior to the marriage, one may see where the marriage canopy was erected, where the land lay which Raja Janak gave to Ram as part of the dowry, and so forth. There is not one event of the Ram Lila which does not become understandable in terms

of kinship and marriage rules familiar to the people who visit Janakpurdham. Raja Janak, for example, had a pond dug (now called Gordhoi Sar) but no water filled up in the pond. A pandit told him that only when Rani Kausalya, Ram's mother, comes to bathe in the pond will the water seep into the excavated ground. Raja Janak therefore sent for Rani Kausalya. Predictably enough and pond is located two furlongs outside the town limits. The mother of the bride or bridegroom is not permitted to step within her son-in-law or daughter-in-law's household.

5.2. As part of the Vaisnavite sadhana a devotee of the Ramanandi sect will assume a new identity (Bhav) according to his own personal inclinations (also called bhav) in order to enter into a relationship with his tutelary deity, Lord Ram. The most common identities which a Vaisnavite devotee will assume are that of Ram's servant, Ram's brothers or his gaonwala, Sita's sisters or her gaonwali, Ram's father or mother, Sita's father, or Ram's wife, or Ram's guru. Although one may assume any identity, it is particularly recommended that Maithil people enact the Ram Lila as Ram's sister-in-law or Ram's father-in-law. (Men may also take themselves to be Ram's sister-in-law). Some of Janakpurdham's most illustrious sadhus, such as Sri Sur Kisor Das, came from northern India to live in Janakpurdham because their bhav could only be fully expressed in Mithila. Sur Kisor Das took himself to be Sita's father and founded the Janki Mandir in Janakpurdham. He never went to Ayodhya, U.P. because as the father of the maiden Sita he should not visit his son-in-law's home or accept hospitality from him. During the fifteen day circumambulation of Janakpurdham in the month of Phalgun at least two thousand women devotees form the procession behind the Agni Kund kuti and Kacauri kuti murti. The women take themselves to be Sita's sister or gaonwali and accompany Sita to the very places She went in the Treta Yuga with her sisters and gaonwali. During the Vivaha Pancami mela the devotees follow behind the Ram procession or Sita procession according to their bhav, and during the Holi festival devotees who take themselves to be Sita's sisters gather together in the kutis and toss coloured powder onto the idol of their brother-in-law, Lord Ram. For the Vaisnavite devotee at Janakpurdham, therefore, kinship has a more important role to play than merely understanding the deroulement of the annual cycle of melas associated with the Ram Lila. It is through kinship that the devotee creates a relationship to his deity, Lord Ram, and in re-enacting the lila of his deity, it is by means of this relationship that the devotee is transformed by the image of his Beloved and thus becomes part of the divine.

Tattooing Among the Tharus of Dang Deokhuri, Far Western Nepal

D.P. Rajpure

Making drawings on the human skin and then inserting these inside the skin by punching it with a small bunch of needles and so making them permanent is called the art of Tattooing. This art is called Tika Chhedaune or Godna Garaune in some parts of Nepal.

The word 'tattoo' or 'tatu' was derived from the Tahitian word 'ta' which means 'to strike'.¹ Captain Cook was the first person to introduce this word and art in Europe after his first voyage in 1768-71.

It is difficult to ascertain the exact date of the beginning of this art. There is no solid evidence to prove the existence of it during pre-historic times, but, according to Déchelette, there is considerable likelihood that the finely pointed implements discovered in the Magdalenian deposits were used for tattooing². This idea seems logical and fits in with the fact that the pre-historic cave-dwellers were clearly artistic and had a good knowledge of colour for painting. Ancient Egyptians too were not unfamiliar with this practice. The marks on the rude human figures in the tomb at Tukh suggest it³. In the second Theban Empire too the Egyptians, according to J. Capart, tattooed on their breasts or arms the names or symbols of deities⁴. The prohibition against tattooing in the old testament of the bible proves that the ancient Jews already practised this kind of work. Tattooing was prevalent in ancient China and Japan according to Chinese tradition. While, according to A.T. Sinclair, 'among the ancient natives in the West Indies, Mexico and Central America, tattooing was general if not almost universal'⁵.

From the above mentioned examples, it becomes clear that men decorated their naked bodies with this art from early times. But this art is popular not only among primitive tribes but among some modern societies of the East and West also. Soldiers and sailors in particular have been interested in this art. In modern Japan it has become very popular and is highly elaborate⁶.

At different times and places and with greater or lesser interest, different styles and techniques of this art have evolved. As it is not possible to describe them all here, this article will be limited to the art prevalent among the Tharus of Dang, Deokhuri and Surkhet valleys of Far Western Nepal.

Tattoo work among these Tharus can be classed as two kinds:-

- (1) Main or compulsory tattooing.
- (2) Ordinary or optional tattooing.

The first type of tatooing is done on the legs of married women only and for them it is compulsory.

The time or season for the usual type of marriage as well as for tatooing falls in the same months- FALGUN and CHAITRA. The work is generally done during the month which follows marriage. But in the case of unusual circumstances at that season, such as long illness, pregnancy or childbirth, the work may be postponed till the following season or till the situation normalizes.

There is no prescribed rule or tradition about making a person liable to undertake this kind of work. Traditionally it is done by aged and experienced ladies. A lady belonging to any clan of a Tharu family, rich or poor, can do this work if she is skilled in drawing because great efficiency is needed for the making of the drawings and great care is necessary to avoid pricking the unmarked or undrawn portions of the skin.

MATERIAL NEEDED

The following materials are necessary for Tharu tatooing.

(A) 'CHHEDANA SUI' (Pricking needles).

Eight to twelve medium-sized sewing needles are tied tightly together and their blunt ends are covered and tied with rags and threads so as to make it easier to hold the needles while working.

(B) 'LIKHAN DARI' (Marking-rod).

This rod is a 5 or 6 inches long iron rod a little thinner than a pencil.

(C) 'KAJARAMASI' (Carbon ink).

This is a semi-liquid substance, prepared with carbon and water. Previously such carbon was procured from a mustard-oil lamp but now-a-days it is obtained from a kerosene lamp.

(D) Some plain water for thinning the liquid when it dries.

PREPARATION

The lady who does the tatooing is called 'TIKANNYA' and the one to be tatooed is called 'GWARA DOSUIYA' (the leg server).

The woman to be tatooed has to wash both her legs well (up to the knees) with cow-dung, rubbing it firmly on to the portions to be tatooed and later rinsing them well with plain water. Finally she has to dry her legs well, with the help of textile-pads, and when they are dried a small quantity of mustard-oil is rubbed on them. This is to make the surface to be tatooed soft but not greasy.

TIME AND PLACE FOR TATOOING

There is no special day or week fixed for this work, the only restriction being that it should take place in the months of Falgun and Chaitra. The work is generally done in the CHHOTKI ANGANA (a little courtyard on the side of the house, opposite to the street), in the shade. The major or the compulsory type of tattooing is done on two consecutive days; on the first day the right leg is tattooed, on the next day the left. The work begins in the morning and stops in the late afternoon or early evening when work finishes on one leg.

There is not a TIKANNYA in every village. Where there is no local person, the woman to be tattooed has to go where a TIKANNYA lives. Sometimes if the 'tattooer' and 'tattooee' are close relatives, the latter may be invited to the house of the former lady, to be tattooed. Food and lodging facilities for the lady who goes to the tattooer in another village, are generally provided by relatives of that woman if they reside in that village, otherwise the woman to be tattooed has to go to the house of the TIKANNYA with some rice, salt, mustard oil, vegetables, and JAD in sufficient quantity for both of them for two or three days along with some alcohol and a pair of pigeons or a cock if possible.

The current cash fees for tattooing is two rupees per leg or four rupees per head, given to the TIKANNYA by the other in addition to the food and gifts.

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

There are several beliefs related with the art of tattooing. For some people if it is a form of sexual expression and a powerful sexual stimulant, it is considered as permanent jewelry too⁷. The tattooing marks are also considered as the only things that are certain to go with a person to the next world⁸, while the Jyapu women practise it on the hind part of the calf muscle as they believe that tattooing is helpful in securing a means of sustenance in the world after death where the tattoos can be sold off to buy food⁹.

The main reason for tattooing among these Tharus is aesthetic. According to them young and unmarried girls do not need and hence do not have to decorate themselves by tattooing because their bright and colourful CHOLYAS (a kind of blouse with its opening in the back) are beautiful and decorative; but a married woman has to get herself tattooed to compensate for the lack of beauty or decoration brought about by donning JHULWA or DAINAHA JHULWA, a kind of ladies' shirt with full sleeves, double-breasted and opening in the front. It is always made of white coarse textile and is generally worn by ladies who have already given birth to child. The lower garment, the GONNYA, is always white and is similar for married or unmarried woman; so it is considered that beauty and decoration are equated

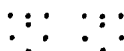
with blouses (for unmarried girls) or tatooing (for married women). Though DAINAHA JHULWA is the recommended dress for married women, in practice the women do not give up wearing the colourful CHOLYA till they have had a child. So it seems that tatooing generally is considered as compensating a certain lack of colour in dress by these Tharus.

PARTS OR DIVISIONS OF TATOOING

Tatooing on legs, can be divided for description into three parts.

(1) Lower Part

This part is spread on the portion situated one inch above the ankle-bone and one, or one-and-a-half inches below it. The designs made in this portions from top to bottom are

- (a) — — SITHA (Stick or Straw)
- (b)  CHULHA (Stove)
- (c)  PHUNNA (Hanging motifs)

(2) The Middle or Main Part

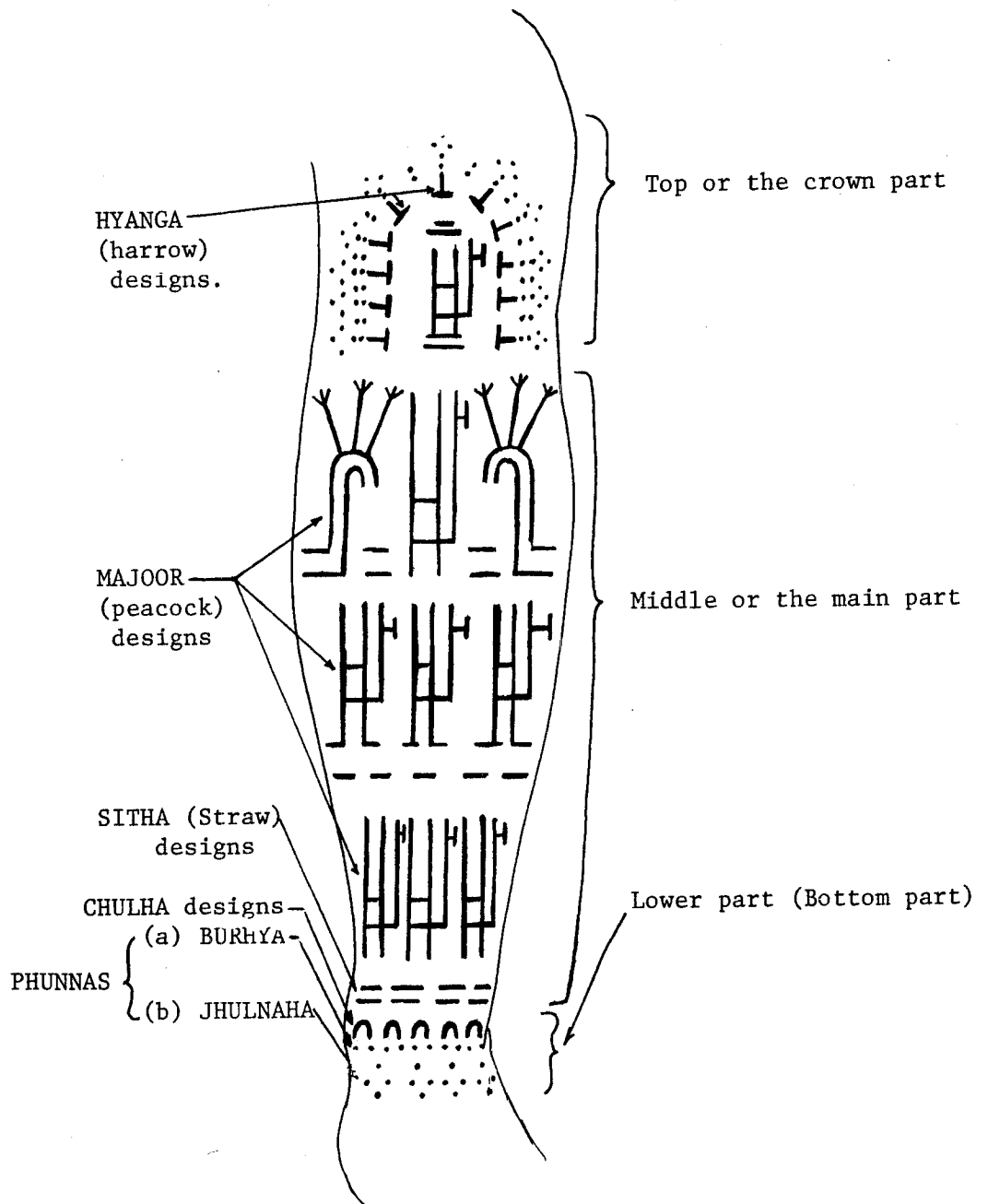
This part covers about the three quarters of the area between the ankle-bone and the knee. This portion consists of three rows of MAJUR (Peacock)   designs and SITHAS between.

(3) The Top or The Crowning Part

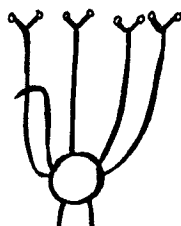
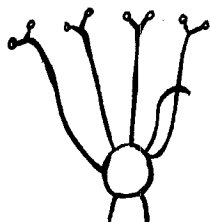
As the name itself indicates, this portion lies on the top. It consists of a single peacock in the centre and some PHUNNA or other motifs on three sides (Top, left. & right) of it, making a frame for the single peacock in the centre.

The main difference between this part and the other parts is that the tatooing in this part is made only on the front half (vertical) portion.

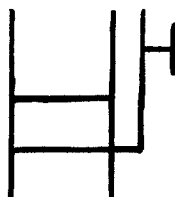
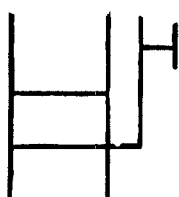
DETAILS OF A TATTOOING ON LEG



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instead of the following.



or the framing of designs around the single peacock part may differ, as HYANGA (harrow)  and CHALANI (Filter)  motifs too can be made between the top-most peacock and the PHUNNA motifs.

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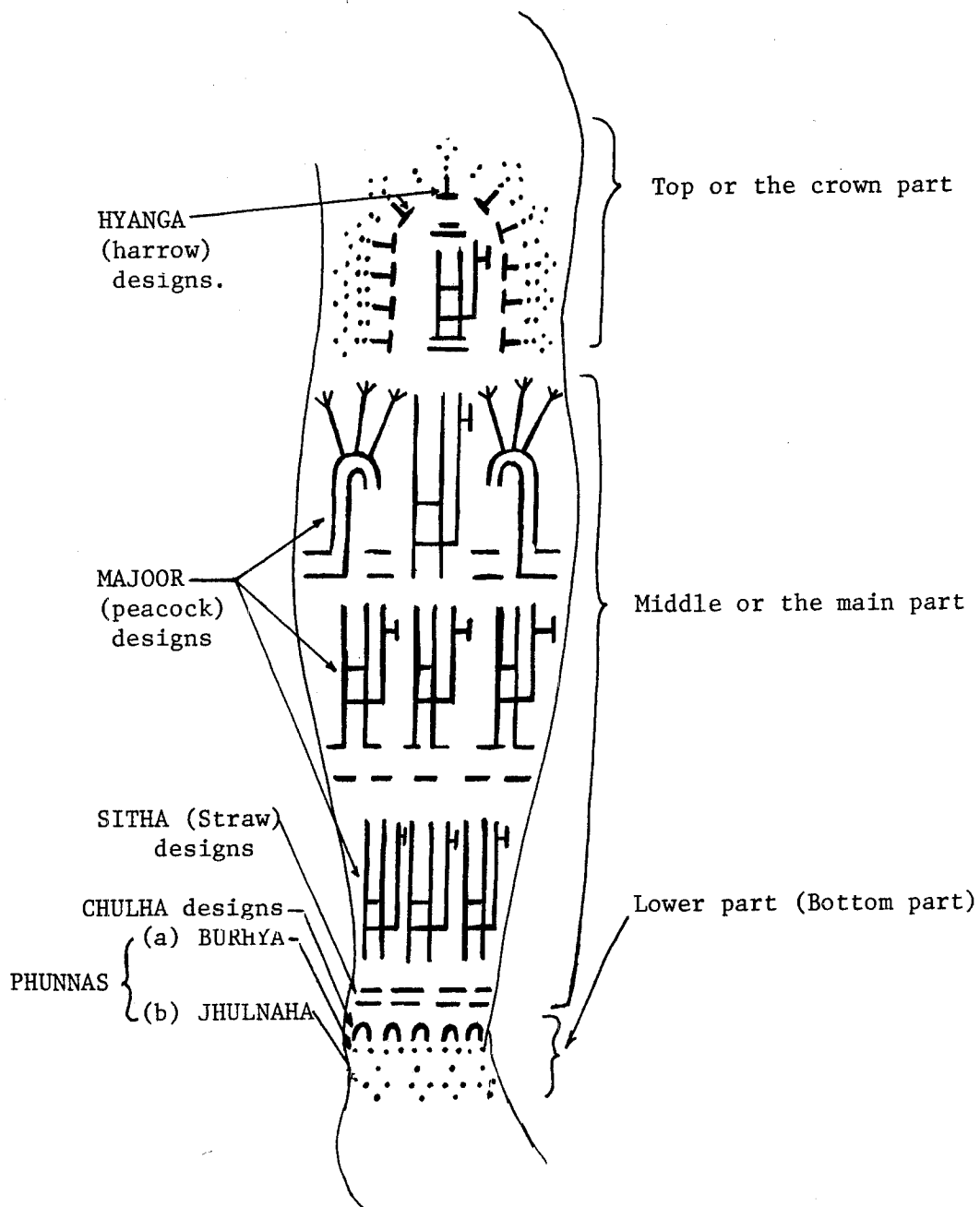
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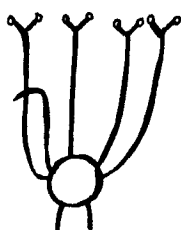
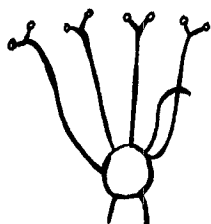
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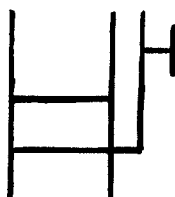
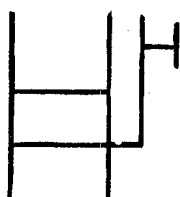
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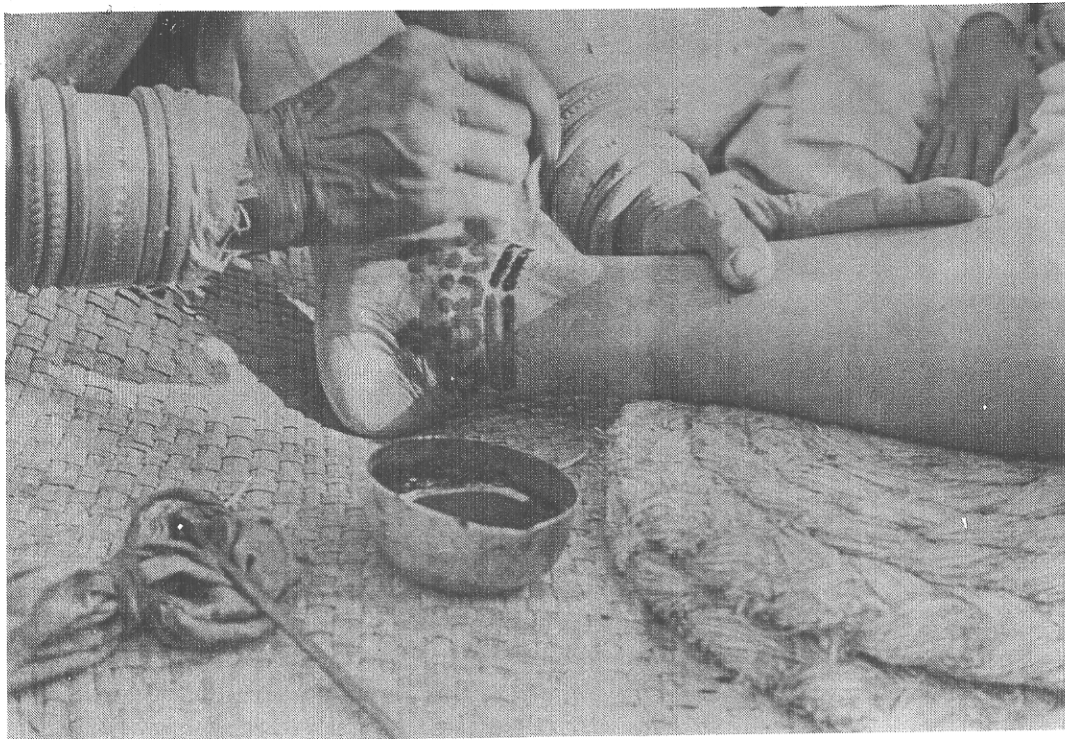
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A woman in the process of tatooing. Marking rod, sack containing the carbon powder and the bowl with liquid carbon are also visible on the side.



Making designs with needles. Flies for the blood brought out by pricking.



A general view of tatooing.



Tatooing in its final stage.

that covers the whole of the unmarked leg (up to the knee). Now the topmost quarter is left for making the crown, and on the remaining three quarters, three rows of peacocks are to be marked.

While working on the middle or the main part, the tattooer puts vertically (for measuring) the JWAKHA above the SITHA motif (near the ankle-bone) and marks two rows of other SITHAS and thus makes a space for marking the first row of peacocks. When the space is made she goes on marking that whole row of peacocks. and after it she begins to work with needles. After finishing the work on the first row of peacocks, she pulls out the same JWAKHA out of her hair, carried there to avoid its being misplaced, puts it above the first row of peacocks (for measurement) and again draws SITHAS for making the space for the second row of peacocks. This time too, the markings are first drawn and later on those marks are pricked, until the whole three rows of peacocks are finished.

After the completion of the marking and the pricking work on the main part, the work for the crown part begins. With the help of the same JWAKHA, a peacock of the same height is drawn on the top-most or the crown part and then several selected designs (according to preference), like HYANGA or CHALNI are drawn on three sides of that peacock and are overlapped by a frame of Phunna designs. Lastly this part too is tattooed in the same way as the previous ones. After the work is finished as mentioned above on one leg, the other leg is done on the next day.

Something should also be said about the general or optional type of tattooing. Except on the skin of infants, very young children or a seriously ill person, this kind of tattooing can be done on any person's skin if he or she so wishes. Such tattooing is generally done on the hand, arm or the face. The designs made on these parts are miscellaneous, like CHULHA, CHALNI, HYANGA, or occasionally the name or the names of some Hindu deities like Ram, Sita, Krishna etc or sometimes the name of the individual concerned. In some cases a spot design too is tattooed on the chin or the cheek, but is practised on females only.

CONCLUSION

Though some of the rich and educated Tharu families like the Chaudharis of Hekuli and Baibang in Dang or of Gobardiha in Deukhuri, no longer practice tattooing and are now prescribing Sari for their women, ordinary Tharus still practice tattooing and consider it as an act which beautifies. In fact, for them it is the main trait which distinguishes a married woman from an unmarried girl. Though in one of their songs that I have recorded, there is mention of vermilion powder (SINDUR), in practice they never use it for make-up purposes (though it is very often used in religious activities) and consider tattooing as a "Sindur" of a Tharu woman. Sindur is used and applied by Hindu married woman only and so it is the mark of a married woman among all Hindus, higher, lower or untouchables).

Tattooing, practised mainly by married women on their legs, can be displayed for admiration only if the woman wears a skirt-like or skirt-length dress on her lower limbs, i.e. the dress must not go beyond the knees. So the practice is limited to the women who wear GONYA (Skirt-size dress for the lower portion). In the whole of Dang and Surkhet, and in some parts of Deukhuri and other Terai districts of Western Nepal women wear GONYAS and still practise tattooing. But for others, who have already used or are now introducing LAHANGA (a loose and petticoat like cloth coming down to the feet, worn by some rural or tribal women, mostly Tharu of Terai) or Sari (a quite popular Indian dress for women), this practice has no advantage because these clothes cover the whole portion where the tattooing is done and so is not practised.

FOOTNOTES

1. Jame Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion & Ethics, Vol 12, Third ed. Edinburgh, 1954 pp. 208
2. Manuel d' Archéologie, Paris, 1908-13, i, 203.
3. W.M. Flinders Petrie, Naqada, London, 1896 p. 59.
4. J. Capart, Les Débuts de l'art en Egypte, Brussels, 1904, p. 32.
5. "Tattooing of the American Indians", American Anthropologist, New Ser. XI, 1909, p. 399.
6. B.H. Chamberlain, Things Japanese², London, 1891, p. 399.
7. Verrier Elwin, The Baiga, London, 1939 p. 18-19.
8. Verrier Elwin, The Baiga, London, 1939 p. 19.
9. G.S. Nepali, The Newars, Bombay 1965, p. 70.

Nepal on the Eve of the Rana Ascendancy

Daniel W. Edwards

Part of the material in this paper originally was collected to supplement the very brief discussion of "Pre-Rana Administration" in Satish Kumar's Rana Polity in Nepal¹. As background for my own study on the Rana administration, I intended only to indicate the considerable number of positions within the administrative hierarchy that Kumar failed to mention.

However, after reading selections from the private papers of Brian Hodgson, British Resident in Nepal from 1831 to 1843, I realized that a more complete presentation of the administration in Nepal at that time could be offered. For with the information Hodgson provides, it is possible to identify many of the persons in the higher positions of the administration then, and to learn something of their duties. Perhaps more interestingly, we find a rather detailed, and surely the only available account in English, of the major governmental offices in Kathmandu in the early 1840s. Materials drawn from the Hodgson papers form the substance of this paper.

To "set the stage", administratively, for the advent of the Rana period, Satish Kumar relies upon a "pajani" list (giving the names of those appointed to government positions) for 1845 and by which he claims to present "the hierarchy of officers and servants in the administration"². Yet it is apparent that either the list he is using (contained in a "vamsavali" or a kind of genealogical history) is not complete, or that he has not given it in its entirety. It probably is a pajani list only for the highest officials of the state, the "Bharadars", but there were many other ranks of administrative officials in the government at that time which he does not mention.

As for the Bharadars, we should note that there is disagreement among writers on the earlier Shah dynasty period (say until 1800) as to what officials and how many officials formed this group. Kirkpatrick³ and Hamilton⁴ set the number at twelve or thirteen, though they agree only that four of them were sardars. Rose and Joshi⁵ list thirteen ranks whose incumbents could have totalled twenty-five to thirty persons. Nevertheless, one interesting feature of Hodgson's 1836 list⁶ is that he shows eighteen Bharadars in seven ranks, five of the eighteen being palace functionaries. In all likelihood the personality of the official was as significant in determining his role and influence at the Court as the rank he held. Hodgson's list suggests that until 1836 the collectivity known as the Bharadar was still small in size, even though its standing vis-a-vis the Prime Minister, Bhimshen Thapa was less that it had been under the earlier Shah kings.

Hodgson notes, however, that between 1838 and 1843 the number of Bharadars increased from eighteen to forty-nine⁷. By the latter year, six priests were listed as Bharadars, and nineteen other officials were brought in as well. Altogether, one hundred and twenty-six officers, excluding the lowest grades of clerks and menial workers, formed the nucleus of government servants in 1843. As this was the period just after the downfall of Bhimshen Thapa, the resurgence of factional Court politics, in which various cliques vied for control of the administration, probably accounts for the sudden increase in the number of officials.

Before we consider who these high officials were, it is well to note that there are some discrepancies among the documents to which I am referring. While the particulars about a few specific individuals may not be clear, they do not alter the general observations and conclusions that emerge from these lists. One such list which Hodgson has compiled is of "the principal persons at the Court of Nepal, 1843". Those who had no government assignments at the time but who still were considered important personages appear on this list. A roll of the Bharadars and other officers in 1843, described as a "complete list of the non-military functionaries of Government at the Capital"⁸ is also referred to in this article. A third list, bearing no title but written in Nepali, would seem, by its detailed nature, to be a copy of an official document⁹. It also dates from 1843 and appears to be the document from which Hodgson derived much of his information. This Nepali copy gives the names, ages, and assignments, if any, of persons presented according to their "thar" (surname).

Who were these Bharadars and what were their roles in the administration at this time? It is well-known that the small number of high officials was drawn from prominent families who formed the Court of Nepal. Some of the particulars in Hodgson's papers substantiate this, but it may be worthwhile to present in a more detailed manner some of this information regarding the Bharadars.

Table I shows the highest or "pagadi" (type of head-dress) positions within the government; the numbers within each rank, and the number of officials classified by "thar" (designating lineages within a caste). In some cases, persons with the same thar name were quite closely related. But persons having the same thar name are not necessarily related, and some surnames are common to 2 or more castes as well.

That the great majority of officials were Brahmans or Chhetris comes as no surprise. The ranks of Kaji and Sardar were fairly widely shared among the families so represented in the government, but the other posts (which had fewer occupants) were more confined to members of one or two thars. It is interesting that fourteen of the fifty high-ranked people were palace functionaries (the dwares) or those who performed services for the royal family and possibly for the prime minister (the gurus and dadas). A few years later,

TABLE IITHE PRINCIPLE PERSONS AT THE COURT OF NEPAL¹

(1843)

<u>Caste</u>	<u>Thar</u>	<u>of Persons</u>	<u>Totals</u>
<u>BRAHMAN</u>	Adhikari	1	
	Aryjal	2	
	Baidya	1	
	Misra	2	
	Paudyal	6	12
<u>THAKURI</u> (CHHETRI)	Sahi	4	
	Shah	14	
	Other	1	19
<u>CHHETRI</u> (others)	Adhikari	1	
	Basniat	12	
	Bhandari	2	
	Boghti	1	
	Karki	2	
	Khatri	1	
	Kuwar	2	
	Mahat	1	
	Pandey	15	
	Pant	3	
	Thapa	12	52
MAGAR	Rana	7	7
KHAWAS ²		4	4
Others	Not ascertainable	6	6

1. Includes the 50 pagadi officials

2. Offspring of a slave woman; illegitimate offspring.

the chobdars, jyotishis, and jetha-budha (five persons, in all) were also numbered among those who formed the group of the state's most important officials, and they were not "administrators" either, but were connected with the royal household.

Hodgson has listed fifty pagadi officials or members of the Bharadar. If we examine the other two lists and assume that they do enumerate the most important and influential figures at the Court, we find eighty-five names. As fifteen of the pagadi officials are not shown on the list of "principal persons", adding their names give us an even one hundred individuals who occupied high ranks and had specific assignments; who enjoyed titles to a rank but had no particular duty that year; or who were out of service altogether but were recognized as having some claim to office or priority in appointment should the services of additional persons be required by the Government. In fact, the records show that only fifty-six of these one hundred "V.I.P.s" held specific positions of authority within the Government that year. Thus not all who were prominent in the life of the Court would hold administrative positions (or be in active military service) in any one year, but those who were appointed to civil or military duties mostly came from families who participated in court life. Table II presents these one hundred persons.

A number of these officials had military regiments attached to them, and they controlled the appointment and dismissal of these troops¹⁰. All of the provincial governors were also assigned troops. Later we shall see that other "companies" (of soldiers) in Kathmandu which carried out essentially non-military functions and may have included many with only a rudimentary sort of military training, were assigned to the head officials of some of the offices. It should be noted that most of the officials found in the military hierarchy and who did not have significant "civil" administrative responsibilities are excluded from our discussion. Many of those officers came from the same (especially Chhetri) families which staffed the major administrative positions given above.

Important figures at the court, however, might not hold an assignment at a given time; their status was termed "dhakre". What Rose and Joshi wrote with military personnel in mind applies equally well to the officials under consideration here.

Any officer retired from the military roll was entitled to continue to use the title he had earned while on active duty; he was regarded as having an honorary position in the administration and was, moreover, eligible for immediate recall at the government's discretion. There was little or no stigma attached to the fact that a person was "Dhakre", or off the payroll¹¹.

The number of such individuals at the Court in 1843 was considerable if Hodgson's figures are accurate. Of the fifty-one "principals" (excluding the gurus), he notes that eighteen, or more than one-third fall in the dhakre category¹². For seventeen others, their ranks are given but no specific assignments are indicated. Should vacancies occur for whatever reasons in the top positions, then, there was a supply of reserve personnel from among the same influential families waiting to assume duties whenever called.

The Names and Functions of Personnel

Satish Kumar has given fourteen posts in the administrative hierarchy of 1845 as follows: guru, purohit, minister, chautaria, kaji, kapardar, khanzanchi, sardar, captain, mir munsu, subba, dware, chobdar, and vakil¹³. The total number of officials in the above posts was approximately sixty.

In Hodgson's second list, those "entitled to bali or payment in kind as civil functionaries" for 1843, we find the following enumeration of the Bharadar positions: guru, chautaria, kaji, sardar, kappardar, khanzanchi, dada, and dware. Below these forty-nine officials were eighty-three others "below the rank of Bharadars"¹⁴. These other ranks were as follows: subba, dittha, munsu, jetha budha, maz(d)iki, khardar, mukhia, omaria, tharghar, chobdar, kotwal, bichari, arjabegi, tahvildar, jamadar, kothia, and daroga. From other materials in Hodgson's papers we find mention of these ranks or officers¹⁵: adhai, pradhan, baithake, bahidar, nausinda, bhansari, sipahi, and tahlua. Including the gurus and other priests, then, there is evidence that at least thirty-four positions within the "civilian" (as distinct from the army) hierarchy of administration were recognized just prior to the Rana period. Some details and conjectures about these ranks and the persons occupying them are presented below.

(A) Guru. Kumar states that the gurus' function "was to advise the king on matters of Hindu law and to decide cases involving explanation or interpretation of the Dharmashastra. The chief of them, traditionally called the Charamdhikar, functioned more or less as the chief judge for dealing with criminal cases"¹⁶. From other materials in the Hodgson papers, it appears that in 1843 there were eight such gurus: six of them Poudyals and two Misras (names of Brahman thars)¹⁷. A Poudyal was the Dharamdhikar, four were "mantris", and one was a "gayatri" guru.

These mantris, or ministers, were part of the "cabinet" formed by Fateh Jang Shah in 1843. A "gayatri" has been defined as "a verse from the Rgveda, in the 'gayatri' metre, to be recited mentally by every brahman at his morning and evening devotions"¹⁸. A Poudyal and a Misra were the gayatri gurus, one assigned to the Raja, the other to the heir apparent.

The second Misra priest was called the "diksche guru", or one who gave tantric mantras. After the Ranas came in power, the Pandeys became the "raj gurus" and replaced the Poudyals.

(B) Purohit. Kumar states that these priests were to "attend and perform royal ceremonials and rituals"¹⁹. Aryjals (a Brahman thar) were the purohits at this time. They also recited mantras, and depending upon their personal relationships with the authorities, they might be asked for advice in state matters as well.

(C) Chautaria. They were royal collaterals, and Kumar writes that "most of them functioned as governors of various districts"²⁰. However, at the time under consideration here, we find only one of the ten districts whose governors are listed headed by a Chautaria. Of the other Chautarias who had definite assignments besides this governor at Doti, one was a captain in Dailekh; one was stationed in a Nepalese office in Benares; one was the superintendent of the Magazine (a place for the manufacturing of arms); and one was a "minister". The Prime Minister at this time was also a Chautaria.

(D) Kaji. The Kajis, drawn from the "senior members of noble families", served as "governors...or assistant governors of a district, cashiers or treasurers, (and as head officials) in some offices"²¹. That is, kajis were assigned to high positions in different areas of government, much as the chautarias and sardars were. All might have soldiers under them as well.

These sources for 1843 indicate that men of kaji rank were "governors" in the districts of Pyuthan and Dhankuta; one was an envoy to China ("vakil"); others were placed in charge of the offices of Kumari Chowk, Kampu Dafdar Khana, the Kausi records; and Dak Chowk Dhukuti. (Descriptions of these offices are given in the next section). Another person of kaji rank was a minister.

(E) Sardar. They too undertook a variety of tasks; Kumar states they were of the nobility and "occupied civil and military offices of importance"²². Our sources place four of them in charge of the districts of Ilam, Salyan, Jumla, and Pokhara, and one at the fort at Chisapani. One was in China (perhaps as a member of the mission sent to the Emperor); one was a dittha of the courts; two were dadas (see below); and two or three were designated as "hajuria". Hajurias were "always present" with the King and served as personal attendants and body guards.

For a number of the sardars, as from some kajis and Chautarias too, no offices are given in the records. The records may be incomplete; the persons may have received temporary assignments from time to time; or they may have been in the dhakre category. These holders of the highest ranks, kajis and sardars--some of whom were chautarias--thus were employed as general administrators, often with military responsibilities as well.

(F) Kapardar. This official has been described variously as the chief of the royal household, the keeper of the King's wardrobe, and the one in charge of jewelry and other valuable stores in the palace. Hodgson called him the "comptroller of the Royal Household" and "a gentleman of rank" whose office then was known as Kot Bhandar or Kadel Chowk²³.

(G) Khanzanchi. Kumar noted that a relation of the purohits usually served as the government treasurer, and there is an Arjyal as khanzanchi in 1843. He was in charge of the Kausi (also called Kausi Tosakhana), and monies were received and issued under his authorization²⁴.

(H) Dada. There is no mention in these or other writings I have seen regarding this post. The word has been defined as "the tutor or male attendant of a nobleman's child"²⁵. If we remember that in earlier days tutoring the children of noble families involved instruction in horsemanship, the use of weapons, perhaps wrestling and other athletic skills, and, on the educational side, an introduction to the genealogy, traditions, and duties of the ruling and warrior clans, as well as the basics of reading and writing, it is not surprising to find persons of sardar rank appointed as dasas. For theirs was an important task: to supervise the kind of "education" that youngsters of the nobility would require in preparation for the leadership roles they were destined to occupy in this type of administrative system.

(I) Dwaria. At this time, dwares were probably the Palace gatekeepers. The importance of their position lay in their regulation of traffic in and out of the Palace. Possibly they were also the receivers and bearers of petitions sent in by those who did not have access to the Palace and the King. A remark of Hodgson's suggests that they were ushers who carried the gold scepters of the palace.

In another text, the dware has been described as "an official at the royal palace to collect certain levies"²⁶. Kumar calls them "royal guards"²⁷. Conceivably all of these functions could have been performed by the four dwares listed among the Bharadars in 1843. Later, women who kept an eye on internal movements within the Palace were known as dwares.

(J) Subba. From the early Shah period, Subbas served as officers in charge of district administration. According to our records, there were subbas stationed at Gorkha and Chitwan, with five others being administrators in the Terai. But men of subba rank were also assigned in the capital to the Kumari Chowk, and Kot Bhandar offices, where they were the deputies of the kaji and kapardar in charge.

(K) Dittha. They had been the judges who presided over the courts (Adalats) in Kathmandu. By the 1840s however, there were some ditthas who might not have been exclusively "judicial officers" as Kumar terms them. For example, three ditthas were at Kumari Chowk. There was a court there at this time, but a dittha as well as a subba could serve as the deputy to the kaji who headed the office of Kumari Chowk office proper²⁸. Two other ditthas helped maintain the records of the Kausi; others were placed in the Sadar Dafdar Khana, the "powder magazine", and the Hattisar, the office in charge of the royal elephants. Later on during the Rana years, there were many persons of dittha rank who had nothing to do with the courts or legal departments and clearly were not "judicial officers".

(L) Munsi. Originally, the munsi was an official who knew Persian and perhaps other languages necessary for correspondence with foreign governments. At this time there was a Bhotia Munsi in the Kausi who directed correspondence with Tibet and China²⁹. More loosely, a munsi could be a secretary or scribe.

(M) Jetha-Budha. At an earlier time the jetha-budhas, "elder statesmen, held intermittent positions as emissaries to district officials or to the courts of foreign states"³⁰. By 1843 only one remained, described by Hodgson as the "personal attendant of (the) Rajah". A few years later, we find the jetha-budha under the Kadel Chowk with three sipahis under him; his name also is linked with the "chaya kotha" or tea room³¹. By then his days of glory obviously were over.

(N) Nazdiki. This is an obscure post, but Hodgson's note that the nazdiki was a "companion" to the Raja is in agreement with the word's Persian meaning as "one who is nearby".

(O) Khardar or Kharidar. These were writers, assigned at this time to the Kausi, the Sadar Dafdar Khana, and Kumari Chowk. The kharidar of the Kausi had under him the two men who took care of the correspondence with Tibet and China, and it appears also that he supervised the work of some nausindas too³².

(P) Mukhiya. District headmen were called mukhiyas. In the central administration mukhiyas were writers. In the Kausi and the Kot Bhandar the mukhiyas kept accounts of receipts and expenditures. In Kumari Chowk each mukhiya supervised the work of the nausindas under him.

(Q) Omaria or Umrao. In earlier times Umraos served as commanders of military posts in the provinces and districts. They were local chiefs who were responsible for raising and equipping men for battle. The efforts made to establish a national army made this quasi-feudal arrangement obsolete. Only the Umrao of Banikot received recognition among the Bharadars in 1843.

(R) Tharghars. Originally the title referred "to those six chiefs of different castes (note: more properly "thars"), Aryjal, Khanal, Pande, Panth, Bohara, and Rana who assisted Dravya Shah in the conquest of Gorkha"³³. (The Ranas referred to here were Magars and not related to the Kuwars or later Shamsher Ranas). From then on persons from these six thars were considered dignitaries and assigned various duties. The tasks of the six tharghars mentioned in the 1843 documents are not given, but tharghars were often involved in the measurement of lands. A few years later, tharghars were working under the Sadar Dafdar Khana.

(S) Chobdar or Chopdar. They were royal attendants, usually Brahmans, who carried short staffs. When the King went for an outing, the chopdars would walk beside him bearing gold or silver maces, etc.

(T) Kotwal. Kotwals have been described as watchmen or "chief police officers of a town or district"³⁴. The two Hodgson mentions were probably the "police chiefs" in the Kathmandu area.

(U) Bichari. They took evidence from the parties in court cases, investigated the details of the cases, and functioned as court recorders³⁵.

(V) Arzabegi. Under the Moghal government, this was an officer appointed to receive and present petitions. In the 1840s in Nepal, an arzabegi was attached to the Adalat (court); later we find him as the superintendent of the jail. He has also been referred to as the person who announced to a condemned man his sentence and who presided over the execution³⁶.

(W) Tahvildar. A tahvildar is a cashier or treasurer. The persons on our list were assigned to the Basantpur Tahvil and to the Courts. In Kumari Chowk, the tahvildars would "receive the money brought in and pay the fees and salaries of the officials of that office"³⁷.

(X) Jamadar. Jamadars were mostly attached to the army, but they could be assigned to civilian offices. Others of military rank who might perform civilian duties included colonels, captains, subedars, laptans (lieutenants), kumbhedans, majors, hawaldars, amaldars, huddas, and sipahis. In the Kausi two jamadars supervised the work of harkaras, or menials, who carried in supplies and were sent on errands as messengers.

(Y) Kothia or Kote. Our sources state only that one kote was attached to the Hattisar and one to the Bhatgaon Magazine. They are described elsewhere as those who watch over the places where guns are stored³⁸ and as the headmen of contingents of baggage porters or collies³⁹.

(Z) Daroga. In the Moghal administration, darogas were government superintendents of departments such as artillery, intelligence and posts, etc. In Nepal they were assigned to the Hattisar and served as officials in charge of the care of teams of elephants.

(AA) Adhai. The adhai was an official in the Kot Bhandar. He dealt with the representatives of cultivators of "sera" lands which were "lands assigned for the supply of agricultural commodities to meet the requirements of the royal household"⁴⁰. Hodgson describes him as the "working superintendent" of all the lower ranking personnel in the Kot Bhandar, including the goldsmiths and jewellers employed by the Palace. The adhai was also the head storekeeper who received the supplies and money brought to the Kot Bhandar⁴¹.

(BB) Pradhan. This term was applied to several different functionaries: those who were headmen of certain communities within Kathmandu valley; and local officials who collected revenue in villages within the valley⁴². The pradhans in Hodgson's account are officials in the Kausi who have charge of a small number of sipahis. One of their tasks was to "keep the keys of the store-rooms and count and measure and weigh what comes in and goes out"⁴³.

(CC) Baithake. A "baithak" is an audience hall, state apartment, or drawing room, and servants in charge of those in the palace were called baithakes. They would also dress their masters.

(DD) Bahidar. A bahidar keeps account books or ledgers. Writers of different ranks might work as bahidars, as mukhiyas did in Kumari Chowk. Likewise, the bahidar could carry out other duties in those days. For example, the bahidars in the Sardar Dafdar Khana and the Dafdar Khana of the Khampu would sometimes go with a few soldiers to the places from where soldiers were entitled to receive grain as their pay; there they would inspect the crops to insure that the transactions were carried out properly⁴⁵.

(EE) Nausinda. They were the lowest rank of scribes. There were more personnel in this rank than in any other within the "civilian" hierarchy (and excluding the sipahis). A considerable number of them worked in the offices of registry and accounts. Nausindas registered the papers which came in and left the offices and copied letters and documents.

(FF) Bhansari. These officials were attached to the "bhansar" or offices which collected custom duties.

(GG) Sipahi. Some of the sipahis assigned to the offices in the 1840s were not "soldiers", although those who stood guard at the banks and treasuries undoubtedly were affiliated with the police or military. Such guards or watchmen were deployed at the Kausi, Kumari Chowk, and surely at the Tahvils and other offices

as well. More generally, sipahis were "piuns", or unskilled laborers who could be utilized as the need arose for simple maintenance work or for transporting loads. Unskilled laborers were also referred to as "harkaras" and "chapprasis". "Lazimas" were workers of various types such as musicians, craftsmen, porters, elephant drivers, etc.

(HH) Tahlua. There was one or two menials assigned to every office of this rank. They would bring water or run errands for the staff. They would wait outside the office door for whatever summons might come.

There were at least three other functionaries during this time, two being attached to the Palace. They were:

(II) Jyotishi. These were astrologers whose counsel was taken to determine the auspicious time to perform certain actions. Oliphant has given an example of such a case: On the return of Jung Bahadur from England in 1851, he stopped and made camp on the outskirts of Kathmandu while the jyotishis decided upon the proper hour for him to make his entrance into the city⁴⁶.

(JJ) Baidya. Physicians of the ayurvedic system who knew how to prepare and administer medicines made from herbs and other indigenous plants.

(KK) Vakil. This term designated a diplomatic representative sent by the Government. Most hold the rank of sardar or kaji.

Besides the above personnel, there were, at least through the 1830s, a number of "companies" (military units) which were placed under the heads of some offices. The companies were assigned tasks relating to the office's functioning: thus they too had a role in the work of administrative offices⁴⁷. The sipahis in these companies at an earlier time could have been old soldiers who had been replaced in their regiments by younger and better trained men. Over the years, men who had never served in the military were probably recruited directly into some of these companies as unskilled laborers. Among the companies we find particular information about the following ones:

(a) The Samar Jang Company, also called the Chapras Company, more than one hundred in number, was at this period (the late 1830s) under the Kotwal (of subedar rank) of Kathmandu.

(b) The Durga Bakas or Dafdarwalla Company was attached to the kaji in charge of the military pay office of the Kampu.

(c) The Nijamat or Kumari Chowk Company was assigned to the kaji who presided over Kumari Chowk Office.

(d) The Sadar Dafdar Company was placed under the head of the Sardar Dafdar Khana Office.

The Central Government Offices

Having discussed the officials and other personnel of the government, I now shall present portions of a paper written by Hodgson in the early 1840s in which he gives a description of the main offices in Kathmandu and the works for which they were responsible. Being a portrayal of the governmental administration in Nepal at that time, this interesting account runs, in part, as follows⁴⁸.

1. Kousi. "The Kousi is the office whence and to which the general administration of the Terai issues and is referred, the Subahs being appointed through it and their collections delivered to it. So the Customs wholly, so all contracts and contractors for Govt. land revenue that is unsigned. So all tributes. All receipts from these sources are conveyed to the Kousi or General Treasury whence the following expenses are provided for: 1st, the whole household expenses of the Palace. 2nd, all presents made by the Durbar to foreign Govts. and their representatives, to holy men and strangers of distinction. 3rd, all annual, monthly, and daily doles of the Durbar to religionists and mendicants. 4th, all Khillats (documents) given when office is conferred. The Kousi is the great storehouse for money and goods wanted for the personal and official consumption of the Durbar; the coin is put in the 3 Baithaks, the goods in the Tosha Khana...

The Kousi is in the Nholcha quarter of the Palace and formerly was a mere Dewani-Khas of the Rajah and was called Bangya Baithak because of the crookedness or angular form of the apartment"...

2. Kumari Chowk. "The Kumari Chowk is the General Office of account for the whole kingdom where all accounts of collections and contractors must be examined and passed, a fee of 5 rupees being taken for every Rs. 1000 of Bahi or Books so examined. The Kousi recommends the collector or contractor and is answerable for him. The Kumari Chowk merely takes his accounts; and those also of all great servants of the govt..."

(A)ll other lands (except those assigned as khangī) and revenues are accounted for once per annum in the Kumari Chowk (although) the Collector or Thekdar may pass 2 or 3 years without offering or being compelled to account; but when anyone does account it is to the Kumari Chowk and usually once per annum or sooner if (the collector) is ejected or changed. Bali (crops) that is not assigned as Khua and Khangī (emoluments) is called Ukas; also Sera or demesnes is accounted for in Kumari Chowk. Also all customs and excise...(and accounts from the) mines, Hattisar, Kath Mahal, the Terai in all branches of receipts and charge, and in a word, the whole income and expenses of the Kingdom save Khua and Khangī or assignments in lieu of salary and pay.

For (about) the last twenty years, the Kumari Chowk has exercised judicial functions like the other courts of the capital and with like powers civil and criminal. There is a separate hall for the Judicial corps...(This Adalat) is for the investigation of revenue and quasi revenue cases⁴⁹...

Of the general tax or fee of 5 (rupees) per 1000 on accounts passed, half goes to government and the other half in fixed proportions to the officers of the (office) down to the jamadars. Besides this, 5 rupees on each contractor's or collectors's total affairs are payable to the nousindas.

3. Sadar Daftar Khana. "The general office of Registry for all assignments in lieu of pay, whether to Gurus, Bharadars, lesser Pagaries, or to the privates of the whole army except the Compoo, which has a special office of the same kind for that end. The Sardar Daftar gives to every office holder of govt. down to Subedar a separate Red-Sealed Poorja or Serkat (for) taking the Khet and Khua granted him as pay; and for the privates (it gives) one general statement called Lal Dhadda for each regiment or separate company. The Sadar Daftar also takes cognizance of all disputes between the Mhures or peasantry and the govt. assignees on account of these assignments.

It has also the charge of the Hulaks (post offices) or Daks which are provided for by assignments or remittances to certain villagers. It is also thru the Sadar Daftar that govt. grants (as Bekh, Phikdari, Maswanthi) are made. The yearly arrangements between the govt. assignees and the agricultural tenant (Adhia or Kuthia) are made in the Sadar Daftar; govt. standing in the light of proprietor of these assigned lands; and the Sadar Daftar being its instrument for the arrangement of the lease annually to the satisfaction of the landlord's assignee and cultivator"...

4. The Kot Bhandar or Kadel Chowk. "(It) is the same as the Kapardar's Kot, ie., is the office of the Kapardar or controller of the Royal Household. The receipts are from Sera or Desmesne Khet (fields), also (from) Goth or Dairits. The expenses are all those of the inhabitants of the Palace as daily food of Keta-ketis (slaves), Potwars (collectors of land revenues?); (they) get 2 manas of chamal (rice) with quantity sufficient of dahal (lentils) and ghee (clarified butter) and alone of all the servants are fed, unless Bharadars or Chiefs (who) are in attendance call occasionally for food when it is supplied to them. Also (the expenses) of (the) Royal Family; also their cloths and ornaments, with all the household utensils and furniture; also the annual allowance of three murees of rice and thirty pathis of wheat to each Keta-keti; also all Mezbanis (sent to guests of (the Rajah)...

There are also some 15-20 goldsmiths and jewellers in constant pay and employ of the palace; and they are under the Kapardar... The Sera lands are usually leased to Kutia Mhuis, (although) a

little is cultivated by the Durbar's Keta-ketis with (the) aid of Jhara or pressed men (ie., forced labor)... Of Sera Khets, most pay in kind; of Sera villages, some pay in money and some in kind; of Sera Goths, the produce comes either in ghee or in money. Each Goth or herd of cows and buffaloes has a head or Gothala who is usually a contractor to deliver so much ghee and so much (money) per annum at 3 or 4 installments to the Kapardar's Kot, and into the Arrai's (Adhai) hands...It ought to have been noted among the expenses of Kot Bhandar that the annual pay of the "Panj Baja" (or players night and morn on the Nagara, the Narsingha, the Sahnai, the Jhati, and the Jyamko, which are the 5 favorite instruments) is provided for by the Kappardar's Office".

5. Dak Chowk Dhukuti. "(It) is the permanent deposit of net savings, and is required to be added to by one lakh (100,000 rupees) per annum at the time of Laxmi's festival and cannot be drawn upon for any expenditure. (This is a) provision made against war expenses in circumstances forbidding the imposition of war taxes. The treasury is supposed to be now 1 crore (10 million), and it occupies 1 chowk or square of the palace called 'Dak Chowk'. 'Dhukuti' is treasure (or) deposit, from the Newari (word) 'Dhuku' (meaning) a special place of deposit. There are some officers attached to the Dak Chowk: the key of the treasure is in the hands of the Maharaja".

6. Bhandar Khal Tahvil. "It's the Tahvil or Government Bank established in the Bhandar Khal. 'Tahvil' is not a treasury in the ordinary sense or place of government receipts and payment, but 'Tahvil' is a special appropriation of government funds to Banking or profits upon loans at 10%, the loans being made to anyone who can find security. It is a new device of 1839 to turn a penny and answers well, giving satisfaction too to the country. Bhandar Khal is the name of a quarter of the palace where one of these Banks is fixed with three lakhs of capital"...

7-8. Basantpur Tahvil and Makhan Kot Tahvil. "(They) are like (the) Bhandar Khal (Tahvil), (being) Banks set up by govt. in the quarter(s) of the Palace so named. Their establishment is the same as that of Bhandar Khal, and their capital the same, or 3 lakhs".

9. Char Adalat. "The 4 Adalats or Courts of Justice at the Capital are Intachapti, Kotling, Taksar, and Dhansar. The 4 courts are near each other in Kathmandu"... (Since Hodgson's essay on the functioning of these courts has been published elsewhere, I will omit his remarks in this section)⁵⁰.

10. Kampu Daftar Khana. "It is the registry and management office of lands appropriated to the pay or Khangri and Khua of the Khas, or anassigned regiments of the Compoo...In fact the Compoo Daftar is for the Khas part of the Compoo what the Sadar Dafdar is for the rest of the Compoo, and all the other parts of the army as well as the Civil List"...

11. Hitti Chowk. "(It is) an office for meeting petty and sudden expenses of the Durbar in kind, in choora (beaten rice) and oil and tumeric (a spice) and chillies. The oil (is used) for burning if the Court go abroad at night; choora for daily doles of prisoners in the Public Jail of the Capitol, and for a luncheon to all persons pressed by the Corvee (Jhara or Begar) to work within the Durbar. Chillies with the chooria and haldee (are provided) for the Durbar's whole consumption and also for (the celebration of) Holi (a festival) there. The receipts to meet these expenses are assigned lands or Khets at Bhatgaon, Kirtipur, and Patan".

12. Tusal Dhansar or Bhu Bhandel. "(It) is a registry office for all transfers of landed property in the district of Kathmandu, and a similar office exists for Patan and Bhadgaon. (It is) also an office for taxing the manufacture of sugar in money and kind and for supplying the Durbar's wants in goor (sugar) out of the produce of the tax...

(A)ll the class of Dangools or land measurers is under the Bhu Bhandel...If the transfer (of land) be by Govt. grant, then the Dongools must measure the land under superintendence of the Thar Ghars. If the covenant be between individuals, the measuring is not indispensable. The bahidars are Jaisis and form a class of professional and official registrars whose operations used to be universal and compulsory whence all litigation at law was staid. But now registry is optional and neglected. The Red Seal on the deed of sale is said to be indispensable still, but not the agency of this special class of Registrars"...

13. Chi Bhandel. (The more common spelling is "Chhemdel"). "(It is) an office of registry for the transfer of property in houses. ("Che" is "house" in Newari). A red seal countersigned by the head of Chi Bhandel is needful and the taxes above names in Bhu Bhandel attach.

2nd: all craftsmen of the City are attached to this office, and those recorded therein who are considered servants of the Govt. (are) bound to work for it in their several crafts for a consideration explained elsewhere. These are the "700" (craftsmen), and if more and wanted by the Govt. at any time they are summoned through the Chi Bhandel.

3rd: it is a privilege of the head of the Chi Bhandel to carry the Rajah's sword at the Indra Jatra Festival.

4th: "Nangla", "Korcha", and "Mandara" or all cordage and ropes wanted by the Durbar are supplied by this office. The supply of these trifles is all the expense; the receipts are the fees and taxes on sales. If the Govt. grant a house to any one, it must be measured by another class of measurers called "Peechoo", analogous to the Dongools; the Thar Ghars must be present (during the measurement). Private sales of houses do not require this measuring"...

14. Pokhal Dyang. "(It is) an office of universal inspection into all titles and rights with a view to usurption. It was established only in 1839 by the Kala Pandays and (it) brought all possessions into question. It is already fallen into disgrace and disuetude"...

15. Taksal Bhot Bhansar. "(It is) a double office: first the taksar of mint; second a custom house for goods reported from Tibet (Bhote).

...the coin or precious metal that is minted is chiefly that brought by trade from Tibet⁵¹. Silver chiefly comes in lumps... Whoever brings (it) must produce (it) at the mint for preemption by the Govt., if it please, at a fixed rate. Thence the silver passes into the mint and being much adulterated is issued in... current rupees, whence arises a further profit to Govt...Company's rupees (Indian currency) come in payment of (?) rents but they are not melted and recoined. They go to pay for all foreign luxuries of the Durbar, and the surplus is hoarded in the Dhukuti as a reserve against war. Gold also comes from Tibet in the course of trade but in small quantity.

16. Bhansar. "Custom House; no one govt. office, as all the customs are farmed: those of north and south trade and of internal and external. The former at Kathmandu levies under the names of kirana, nirkhi, kapas, sager, bhainsi; and imports and exports from north and south between Sindhuli and the Palpa confines. A contractor pays for this some 1½ to 1 and three-quarters lakhs per annum. Beyond to the westward, customs are levied by Palpa (and Doti authorities). Beyond to the eastward, Dhankuta and Chaudandi authorities levy. In the Terai, the Subbas (levy)"...

In addition to the major offices given in Hodgson's account above, there is evidence that the following offices also were in existence around 1845⁵².

17. Tundikhel Baidya Khana. It was the office of Nepali doctors located near the large parade ground in Kathmandu.

18. Astabal Khana. This was the office which managed the horse stables. Workers called sawaris were assigned to it.

19. Phil Khana. It was the office in charge of the elephant stables. Darogas were assigned to it; and each elephant was under the charge of three workers.

20. Pharas Khana. It was in charge of the storage and handling of carpets, beddings, mats, and other such articles. ("pharasi" means "Persian").

21. Palki Khana. A "palki" was a palanquin or sedan chair in which dignitaries were borne. This office must have been responsible

for arranging this means of transportation.

Excluding the military establishment, there seem to be four general types of offices at this time. One was comprised of the banks and treasuries (mostly located within the Palace walls) and the mint. Secondly, there were offices for the registration and management of lands and other properties. The courts formed another class of offices. Finally, there were offices created to provide services for the Palace, and perhaps for sections of the nobility and the military as well. Such was the form of administrative institutions in Nepal when Jang Bahadur Kuwar emerged as the most powerful figure in the Kingdom.

FOOTNOTES

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6. (Brian) Hodgson's Manuscripts, India Office Library, London, IOLM/3/1061, p. 228.
7. Ibid., p. 272
8. Ibid., pp. 85-9.
9. Hodgson's Manuscripts, op.cit., Vol. 52, pp. 23-28.
10. Ibid., #IOLM/3/1061, pp. 75-7.
11. Rose and Joshi, op. cit., p. 28
12. Hodgson's Manuscripts, op. cit., Vol. 1, pp. 23-5. The document written in Nepali shows 32 of the 78 persons it gives as "dhakre", while the duties of 14 others are not specified.
13. Kumar, op. cit. pp. 92-5.

14. Hodgson's Manuscripts, op. cit., IOLM/3/1061, pp. 85-89.
15. Ibid., Vol. 52, p. 147.
16. Kumar, op. cit., p. 92.
17. Hodgson's Manuscripts, Vol. 52, p. 169.
18. Turner, Ralph Lilley. A Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of the Nepali Language. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1965, p. 141.
19. Kumar, op. cit., pp. 92-3.
20. Ibid., p. 93.
21. Idem.
22. Ibid., p. 94.
23. Hodgson's Manuscripts, op. cit., vol. 18, p. 154.
24. Ibid., p. 148.
25. Turner, op. cit., p. 302.
26. Regmi, Mahesh Chandra. A Study in Nepali Economic History, 1768-1846. New Delhi, Manjusri Publishing House, 1971, p. 226.
27. Kumar, op. cit., p. 95.
28. Hodgson's Manuscripts, op. cit., Vol. 18, p. 149.
29. Idem.
30. Rose and Joshi, op. cit., p. 28.
31. Cf. Bali Khana Kitab 1905 V.S., Kitab Khana, Kathmandu.
32. Hodgson's Manuscripts, op. cit., Vol. 18, p. 149.
33. Kumar, op. cit., p. 31.
34. Regmi, op. cit., p. 224.
35. Hodgson, Brian H. "Some Account of the Systems of Law and Police as Recognized in the State of Nepal", in Miscellaneous Essays Relating to Indian Subjects. Trubner & Company, 1880, Vol II, pp. 211-50.

36. Dhungana, Ram Chandra. Sankship Nepali Kosh. Kathmandu, Ratna Pustak Bhandar, 2007 V.S., p. 11.
37. Hodgson's Manuscripts, op. cit., Vol. 18, p. 151.
38. Sharma, Bal Chandra.
39. Turner, op. cit., p. 107.
40. Regmi, op. cit., p. 229.
41. Hodgson's Manuscripts, op. cit., Vol. 52, pp. 154-5.
42. Regmi, op. cit., p. 229.
43. Hodgson's Manuscripts, op. cit., Vol. 52, p. 149.
44. Idem.
45. Ibid., p. 154.
46. Oliphant, Laurence. A Journey to Kathmandu. London, 1852, p, 64.
47. Hodgson's Manuscripts, op. cit., #IOLM/3/1061, pp. 76-7.
48. Ibid., Vol. 18, pp. 147-63.
49. Ibid., p. 3. This paragraph is taken from another section of the manuscripts written a number of years earlier.
50. Cf. Hodgson, Miscellaneous Essays Relating to Indian Subjects, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 211-50. See also "Adalats of Nepal" in Hodgson's Manuscripts, IOLM/3/1061, pp. 1-30.
51. Cf. Bali Khane Kitab, 1905 V.S.

Nepal and South India

Thakurlal Manandhar.

A passage in 'The Chronology of Indian History' by C. Mabel Duff runs as follows

"A.D. 1231-Monday, 7th April, Ś. 1153 and Ś. 1172. Ganapesvaram and Ekamranath inscriptions. Ganapati, Kakatiya of Orangal, son and successor of Mahadeva, claims to have defeated Simhana (the Yadava Singhana II, A.D. 1210-1247), the king of Kalinga, and to have had the Lāta and Gauda kings as vassals. Ganapati's dates are stated by Professor Wilson (Mackenzie coll., I, CXXXI) to range from A.D. 1228-1261. On the other hand, tradition alleges that he died in A.D. 1257, when his widow Rudrammā succeeded him. The Ganapesvaram inscription mentions Ganapati's general, Jāya or Jāyana, who built at Dvipa a temple to Siva called Ganapesvara or Ganapatisvara in honour of his patron, King Ganapati-I.A. XXI, 197. E.I. iii, 82 and ASSI, i and ii".

Again, another passage in the same work reads

"A.D. 1257-Rudramādevi, wife (or daughter) of Ganapati, Kākatiya of Orangal, succeeds to the throne on his death. Tradition says she reigned thirty-eight years. Marco Polo mentions her as ruling at the time of his visit to that part of the country. For inscriptions see ASSI. i and ii".

Surprisingly enough, the Bendall Vamsāvali² gives evidence of the fact that Ganapati, Kākatiya of Warangal had the Gauda king as his vassal. This is mentioned in connection with the religious offerings and donations made by Yuvarājñi Viramādevi, widow of the crown prince Yuvarāja Jayādityadeva in the shrine of Pashupatinath. It says, "Paschāt Gavudarājenamāgatam Kapa-tīyā Ganapatikena Kṛtam Vṛsadhvaja Suvarnalepitam Sri Paṣupatisthāne Sri Jaya Sakti sva (sya) mātā Viramā devinā".

This means: "Later (after the year 417 N.E. corresponding to A.D. 1297) Viramādevi, mother of prince Jay Sakti (deva) had the image of the bull and the flag-staff plated with gold at the shrine of Pashupatinath which were set up by Kapatīyā Ganapati who had come from the kingdom of Gauda".

Dr. D.R. Regmi, the historian, was mistaken in taking this passage to mean that "one Gavudarāja had set up an image of Ganesa and plated with gold the flag-staff and the bull holding it in the

shrine of Pashupatināth"³. After much speculation as to who this Gavudarāja is, he concludes: 'As his name is not mentioned in the chronicle it is difficult to suggest anything about his identity'.

It was before A.D. 1231 that King Ganapati came to Nepal from the kingdom of Gauda since Ganapati Kākatīya reigned between 1198-1257. Dr. Regmi's contention that 'Gauda as a Hindu kingdom had ceased to exist at the time the chronicler makes a reference to its Raja' holds no ground. That 'Kapatīyā' is a wrong spelling for Kākatīyā is obvious. In the sentence we have quoted nam is a Newari ablative case-ending signifying 'from' and rāje is just a Newari variant of Sanskrit rājya since 'ya' is pronounced ye by Newari speakers. That the language of this passage is a mixture of debased Sanskrit and Newari is beyond doubt.

Historians of Andhra like M. Rama Rao⁴ tell us that the Kākatīyas rose to power under Polaraja II, that his grandson, Ganapati, extended his dominions as far as Kanchi in the South. The kingdom flourished under Rudrammā, daughter of Ganapati, who is highly extolled by the Venetian traveller, Marco Polo. The power of the dynasty was destroyed by the Sultans of Delhi early in the fourteenth century. Andhra historians describe king Ganapati as a great builder; and since Nepal also could have had some sort of cultural relations with the Kākatīyas at least for about half a century, we can suppose that Nepal's style of architecture may have received some impetus from the South. K.P. Chattopadhyaya has shown⁵ the probable origin of the Pagoda-style of architecture in Kanara (South India). Havell suggested that this style in Nepal is founded on the Āsana type of temple architecture in India; and K.P. Chattopadhyaya⁶ has further argued that "whether the pagoda style followed the line of evolution suggested by Havell or not, the balance of evidence is in favour of an Indian origin (in the limited sense of earlier existence) of a prototype of the pagoda style". It is not impossible that this type of temple-architecture was introduced into Nepal from the South in the wake of king Ganapati's visit to Nepal. If this did occur, we can infer that, in addition to his setting up of an image of a bull in front of the temple of Pashupatinath, he may have made a few other contributions to the temple building itself. Setting up a bull in front of a temple of Śiva brought in a new style which was not known in this country earlier. As historians tell us, the Kākatīyas were devout worshippers of Śiva. Kakati is the name applied to the goddess Durga or Parvati, the consort of Siva, and hence the name Kākatīyas was applied to the dynasty. They were of the Vaishya caste and some even say that they belonged to the fourth caste.

As a working hypothesis we may wonder whether there was some marriage connection between them and the ruling Banepa line of kings. Perhaps Viramādevi belonged to the dynasty of Kākatīyas. In that case we tend to believe that the kings of the Banepa line were Vaishyas. The Banepa line of kings originally founded by Jaya

Bhimadeva (who was called prior to his accession Bhonta Jaya Bhimadeva) were therefore Vaishya Thakuris in the Nepal historians' terminology. The sudden rise to power of Jaya Bhimadeva, who in a violent way succeeded Jayadeva, the last of king Arimalla's line, as well as the promotion of his son Jayādityadeva to Yuvarāja while Jaya Siha Malla of the Bhatgaon royal line was still being nominated as heir-apparent definitely point to a possible matrimonial relation. Prince Jayāditya proved to be so powerful that he deposed king Jaya Siha Malla, allowing him a reign of only 2 years and 7 months; he installed Anantamalla in his place; he also threw his own younger half-brother Anandadeva into prison at Palamchok. The fact that Yuvarājñi Viramādevi gold-plated the statue of the bull raised by Kākatīya Ganapati also suggests the possibility of a kinship link between the two royal lines. Viramādevi, as her name suggests, must be related to the Kākatīyas as a sister to Rudramādevi since the Kākatīya King Ganapati had no male issue but only daughters. King Anantamalla was only a figurehead until the demise of the crown prince Jayādityadeva and only after his death could king Anantamalla declare himself as Vijayarāja in A.D. 417 on "Āśādha Sukla 5 Shri Pashupati Bhattāarakasake Sthāpita Shri Ananta Malla devasya vijayarājya" as the Bendall Vamsāvali⁷ puts it in its Newari portion. The waning of the power of the Banepa royal line was more or less contemporaneous with the fall of the Kākatīyas in the early quarter of the fourteenth century.

Note: Exactly at this period in history we find mentioned in the Chinese records that King Jayabhimadeva collected and sent 80 artisans headed by Aniko, an accomplished artist and bronze-caster from Nepal to Tibet, and that he (Aniko) was persuaded from thence to go to China where he entered the service of Qubilai Khan. That was a period of great building activities in Nepal after Nepal had repeatedly suffered from earthquakes. The name Aniko, his father's name Lakona and grandfather's Mi-ti-erh could perhaps be traced to South Indian originals.

See Mediaeval history of Nepal by Prof. L. Petech, Rome, 1958, pp. 99-101.

FOOTNOTES

1. The chronology of Indian History: from the earliest times to the beginning of the sixteenth century, by C. Mabel Duff (Mrs. W.R. Rickmers), Reprint 1972. p. 183, and p. 199.
2. The Sanskrit part of the Gopalaraja Vamsavali afterwards named as Gopalaraja Vamsavali. This article is based on my reading of the copy printed in Himavat Sanskriti, year 1, No. 1.
3. The Medieval History of Nepal Part I by D.R. Regmi, Calcutta, 1965, pp. 244-45.

4. M. Rama Rao - The political history of the Kākatīyas. Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society. Vol. 5, April 1931, Part 4, pp. 233-38 and vol. 6, July 1931, Part I, pp. 25-36.

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5. An essay on the history of Newar Culture by K.P. Chattopadhyaya. The Journal & Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal (New Series), 1923, V. XIX, No. 10, pp. 465-560.
6. How the Indian Pagoda went east, by K.P. Chattopadhyaya. The Visva-Bharati Quarterly, vol. 2, No. 3 October 1924. pp. 271-78.
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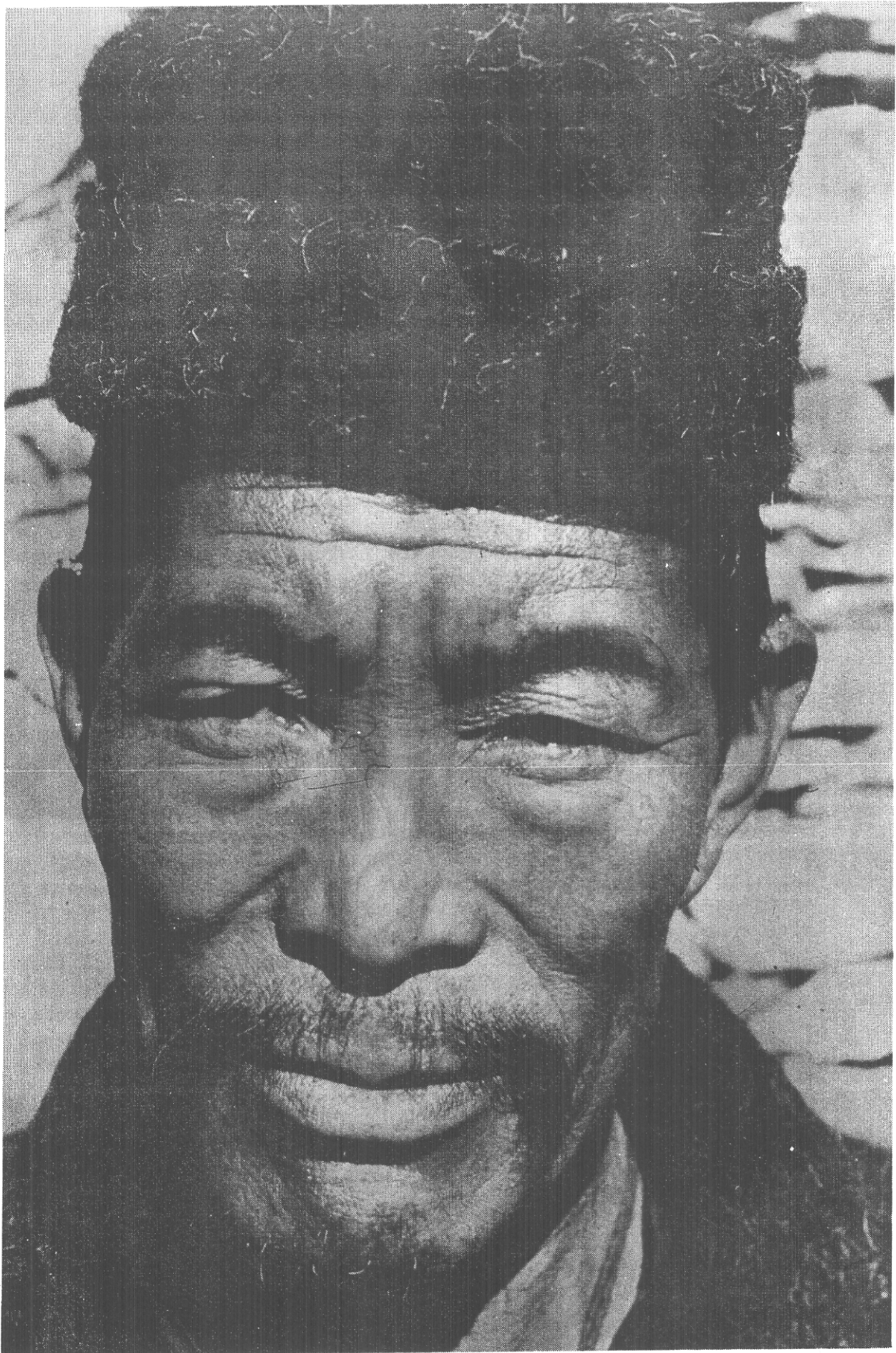
Siberian Shamanistic Traditions Among the Kham-Magars of Nepal¹

David E. Watters

The "Kham-Magars" are a people of ancient Mongolian descent inhabiting the upper tributaries of the Sāni Bheri, Bari Gād and Māri Khola on the southwestern flank of the Dhaulagiri massif. (See accompanying map). They constitute a specific ethno-linguistic community within the four northern subtribes of the Magar people--the Bhuda (Bura), Charti, Pun, and Rokha. That is, in the West sector of the Northern Magar homeland (which is separated from the East sector by three days of uninhabited territory), the people have retained an indigenous Tibeto-Burman language known as Kham;² and it is these people who are referred to as the "Kham-Magars". (See Watters and Watters, 1973). The great majority of Kham speakers belong to the Bhuda subtribe, but there is some admixture of the other three subtribes as well. Although there is no basis for an accurate estimate of their population, a rough estimate would put their numbers in a possible excess of 30 thousand.

The Kham-Magars follow a transhumant pattern of life, maintaining permanent villages and a few fields for small scale cultivation but traveling extensively most of the year with flocks of sheep and goats. Living relatively isolated from the mainstream of commerce and the influx of Indo-Aryan settlement, they have, as opposed to their kinsmen to the east, been only lightly touched by the influence of Hinduism. Their religious attitude is based primarily on an animistic view of nature--the view that the affairs of men are affected by spirits, and that certain men are capable of entering into communication with these spirits and serve as functionaries between man and the spirit world. Such a view, of course, is very widespread, being found throughout Nepal and in many other parts of the world. I intend to show, however, that the Kham-Magar tradition is a specialized form of this widespread belief; that it is part of an ancient shamanistic tradition which exhibits a history and structure of its own.

Shamanism, as described by most scholars, is pre-eminently a magico-religious phenomenon of Siberia and Central Asia (Eliade 1964:4,5). In fact, the word "shaman" comes originally from the Tungusic word saman meaning 'one who is excited, moved, raised' and was borrowed into English from the Russian. The term is descriptive of the shaman's most basic attribute--shaking, or an "ecstatic trance" (Casanowicz 1924:419). Within this immense ethno-geographic area, there are certain features of shamanism which serve to classify it apart from the magico-religious traditions in other parts of Asia. The shaman's calling, his relation to the spirit world, his initiation and instruction, his magic,



A Kham-Magar of the Bhuda clan, Taka village.

his healing method, and so on, is of a particular type. The Kham-Magar tradition is basically Siberian in its orientation, giving evidence of considerable influence from this so-called "classical" tradition of Inner Asia³. Furthermore, it exhibits relatively little syncretism of other traditions, and as such may provide anthropologists with a new perspective in their attempts at unraveling the complex interrelations between the various cultural traditions converging in Nepal.

The Kham-Magars call their shamans rmā or armā (ramā by metathesis in some dialects) which may be etymologically related to the Tibetan rma-bya (bya 'bird') meaning 'peacock' or 'mottled bird' (Das 1902:984). Taken as such, the term is suggestive of the Kham-Magar shaman in full ceremonial dress, covered with the feathers of the blue Monal Pheasant. In many areas, the indigenous term rmā has been replaced by the Nepali term jhankri.

The Shaman's Call

The shamanic calling is not something which can be actively sought after but is viewed as a gift granted by the spirits themselves, but only to persons of correct lineage. As such, the shaman's calling is, in a very real sense, as much spontaneous as it is hereditary. It is hereditary to the extent that it is granted to a kinsman of the former shaman, but it is spontaneous to the extent that it is not transmitted to a predetermined kinsman, but to one chosen by the spirit of the deceased shaman⁴. This method of election has sometimes been referred to as the "quasi-hereditary" transmission of the calling (Krader 1967:114).

Transmission of the shamanic gift does not take place until after the death of the father shaman. The ancestral spirit, or gel⁵ (varying with gyal; cf. Tibetan rgyal-po 'king, chieftain, ruler' [Das 1902:310]), chooses one of his own kinsmen to carry on the profession. Often, the gel examines several young men before making his final choice. Examination takes place in a hierarchical order beginning with the deceased shaman's sons and grandsons. If none of these are suitable, the gel chooses from among the lineage of the deceased shaman's brothers and then finally from among his sisters' sons. He continues his search until he finds a desirable candidate. According to local consensus, one of the chief qualifications for which the gel is searching is a record of religious fidelity, characterized by routine animal sacrifices to local dieties and ancestor spirits. Of very recent innovation is a subsidiary concept of ceremonial purity, especially as regards food, but I have seen only one such case. The son of one of the more powerful shamans in Sera had hopes that his own son (then a child of 3 or 4 years) would carry on the shamanic tradition of his aging grandfather. To insure the transmission of the spirit, he withheld from the child foods which would defile him--chiefly beef and pork. Normally, Kham-Magars do not concern themselves with food restrictions, and even the shamans enjoy beef and pork. Presumably, the father's concern was a recent innovation from Hindu philosophy, and he was exercising caution lest the gel find even the slightest reason for offence.

Ideally, the gel chooses a successor anywhere between 3 and 9 years after the father shaman's decease and begins his examination on the evening of the new or full moon. The young man to whom the spirit comes suddenly begins shaking impulsively, only slightly at first, but becoming more severe on the next occasion. The members of his family, or those who are with him at the time, question him as to his identity. The boy 'prophesies,' the voice of the deceased shaman speaking through him. He answers saying, "I am so-and-so," giving his name. The dead shaman is then questioned as to his purpose in coming, and he may reply, "I have come only to partake of the purification rites common to shamans on the new or full moon". Those who are present respond to his wish. They go out, wash their hands, and come back bearing lādu sī and barma sī, a spice root and leaf which are the chief symbols of purification in shamanic rites. They tie red and white streamers to his queue. This process may be repeated several times in the course of the evening until the gel is satisfied, at which time he leaves the boy.

If the gel approves of the candidate, he will return to him on the next new or full moon. This time he shakes harder than he did the previous time, and after several occurrences he becomes hysterical, babbling incoherently, and sometimes falling unconscious⁶. Kham-Magar shamans state that according to the "ideal", they should fall unconscious and be as dead for at least nine days. During this time they experience terrifying dreams in which they are chased and attacked by wild beasts. These attacking beasts are apparently the helping spirits of the gel attempting to destroy the boy. At first they are dangerous and malevolent. Later, after proper initiation and instruction from the gel himself, the neophyte learns to control them and they become his source of power.

Bal Bahadur Jhankri, a shaman of Taka village, was first visited by the spirit of his dead grandfather when he was 14 years of age, five years after his grandfather's decease. During this time he became very ill, losing his appetite and relish for food. He describes himself as being "like a mad man" for a full year, not knowing where he was, or what he was doing. He withdrew to the mountains and experienced long periods of unconsciousness, during which time his soul wandered in the four directions of the compass. He learned from the gods, and from his ancestor spirit, the nature of diseases and their cure, and also how to fight demons. He had many encounters with evil spirits and demons who attacked him with knives, cutting out his heart and liver. He fought back, poking at them with burning fire brands, but to no avail. His tormentors always won in the end⁷.

Perhaps I should note briefly the obligatory nature of the shamanistic call. It is a vocation which cannot be refused. A young man chosen by the gel must do all in his power to please the spirit and not offend it. An attempt to reject the spirit is an offence of the greatest magnitude and will only guarantee the candidate's misfortune. In texts received from Ram Kumar Bhuda of

Taka village, Ram states that if an attack is not made directly upon the candidate in terms of insanity or suicide, calamity will certainly befall the household. It thus behooves the family to press the boy to carry through with his experience⁸. When the candidate does accept the call of the ancestor shaman, however, his period of danger is by no means over. This is only the beginning of the critical initiatory period.

The Shaman's Initiation

The period of initiation is probably one of the most hazardous and critical periods of the shaman's life. The period is marked by a progression in the shaman's condition from an initial state of uncontrolled possession to a state of controlled possession. That is, he learns to control his spirits--to call them when needed and to send them away when not needed. I.M. Lewis points out that "the shaman's vocation is normally announced by an initially uncontrolled state of possession: a traumatic experience associated with hysteroid, ecstatic behaviour... Thus, in the case of those who persist in the shamanistic calling, the uncontrolled, unsolicited, initial possession seizure leads to a state where possession can be controlled and can be turned on and off at will in shamanistic seances. That is the controlled phase of possession, where as the Tungus say, the shaman 'possesses' his spirits" (1971:54,55). Macdonald (1966) remarks concerning the Nepalese jhankri, that "the true jhankri is one who after once having been possessed by a spirit foreign to his everyday life, manages to master it and to regulate it" (translation mine). Sternberg (cited by Eliade, 1964: 28) observes that "the election of a shaman is manifested by a comparatively serious illness, usually coincidental with the onset of sexual maturity. But the future shaman is cured in the end, with the help of the same spirits that will later become his tutelaries and helpers. Sometimes these are ancestors who wish to pass on to him their now unemployed helping spirits. In these cases there is a sort of hereditary transmission; the illness is only a sign of election, and proves to be temporary".

Among the Kham-Magars, there has been a somewhat novel institutionalization of the tragic themes of the initiatory period which have found expression in a public ceremony known as "making a thumbu". The making of a thumbu has three basic themes: 1) a test of the authenticity of the candidate. 2) veneration of the ancestor shaman whose spirit is seeking re-birth, and 3) regulation of the menacing helping spirits so that they are subject to the new shaman's authority. In the Siberian setting, the neophyte is called upon to endure a long and intense ordeal which he has no assurance of triumphing over. In Eliade's words, he must acquire the "ability to bring on his epileptoid trance at will" (1964:29). For the Kham-Magar shaman, this ability is acquired not so much on a personal basis but is collectively negotiated for by the whole community of shamans. The risks of triumph over tragedy are minimized⁹.

After an indefinite period of abnormal or hysteroid behavior (in the case of Bal Bahadur it was one year), the neophyte falls into a trance and begins to 'prophesy'. His gel makes an announcement in the following terms:

"I am so-and-so, the son of so-and-so.
I have come to be re-born in the body of my son.
Hurry, make me a thumbu and give me birth.
You must hurry, lest we (spirits) bring calamity to
the household.
We will push him off a cliff; we will push him in the
river; we will throw him in the fire.
Hurry, make me a thumbu and give me birth".

The candidate's family appeals to an experienced shaman and arrangements are made for the thumbu and 'birth' ceremonies. Making a thumbu and 'giving birth' are separate ceremonies: the former being conducted on the day of the new moon and the latter on the day of the full moon after some indefinite period. The thumbu ceremony is not done at public expense but must be borne by the candidate's immediate family. As such, its timing is dictated by urgency on the one hand, and by financial expediency on the other. The major part of the expense is to provide plenty of food and liquor for the participating shamans for a day and a night.

The thumbu itself is a container, usually a large gourd, into which lādu sṭ (a symbol of purification) and barley are deposited in any measure of nine--either nine grains, nine fistfuls, or nine cups. It is in this gourd that the savage helping spirits are kept in custody and regulated like a genie in his lamp. (For the word thumbu, cf. Tibetan thum 'anything packed or wrapped up, a parcel' [Das 1902:582]).

The first part of the thumbu ceremony is conducted at the burial cairn of the ancestor shaman. Including the candidate, 9, 7, 5, or 3 shamans are present to test the veracity of his potentially reckless claims that he has been chosen as the father shaman's successor. He must show convincing evidence that the gel is willing to confer to him the assistance and power of his unemployed spirits¹⁰. After certain preliminaries of purification, in which nine cones of purified water are placed around the cairn, the candidate's master, with the help of an assistant, begins to summon the spirits. Keeping rhythm with the hypnotic beat of their drums, the two chant in antiphony, the master shaman opening the lyric with one line and his assistant responding with the second. The chant is an epic of the first shaman, Puran Tsan, and the origin of various spirits. As the epic comes to its climax, the neophyte, who the whole time has been deeply absorbed in following the rhythm with his own drum, is suddenly thrown into convulsions. His face becomes distorted with terror and pain, suddenly changing to an expression of confused panic¹¹. The spirit has come! The shamans leap to their feet and dance a wild dance around the burial cairn until finally they settle again to summon the next spirit.



A young candidate being "attacked" by a spirit in the thumbu ceremony.

If the candidate's claims are true, the ancestor shaman's helping spirits will assemble one by one as they are summoned--otherwise, the candidate is viewed as an imposter or an eccentric and is denied further training. With the helping spirits assembled, the candidate is sent off to find his father shaman's queue and a piece of his costume which were buried in a secret spot at the time of his death. (Among Kham-Magars further north, the entire costume is hidden at the time of a shaman's death)¹². Only with the help of the spirits is the novice able to succeed.

The second part of the thumbu ceremony is concerned with the veneration of the ancestor shaman. The acts of veneration are performed by the candidate's immediate family. The fir tree which protrudes out of the crown of the shaman's burial cairn as a symbol of his access to the sky is replaced by a new one. Any damaged parts of the cairn are repaired, new stones being fit into place where the old ones have crumbled. After repair, the cairn is plastered with a fresh mixture of mud and cowdung and then white-washed with a lime paint. Finally, a small fire is kindled at the foot of the burial cairn in which a sweet-smelling mountain incense is burned, and benedictions and promises of re-birth are offered to the ancestor shaman. Assured of re-birth, the ancestor shaman reciprocates by agreeing to help in the regulation of his helping spirits. With the contract ratified, the party of shamans dances back to the village for the final part of the ceremony.

The final act of the ceremony is conducted in the night at the house of the ancestor shaman. With the assistance of the gel, the helping spirits are brought into the thumbu jug. Its neck is plastered shut with a mixture of cowdung and ashes and sprinkled with the blood of a chicken. The jug is put away for safekeeping and not re-opened until the day of the 'birth' ceremony. The novice's hysteroid condition allegedly improves, and it is said that he is no longer attacked or harrassed by the helping spirits on the nights of the new and full moon as he was previously¹³. As the Kham-Magars say, "Their courses have been set". Even after the jug has been re-opened, the spirits come only when called upon.

The Shaman's Spirits

I shall deal here with the two classes of spirits with which the shaman is most closely associated: 1) the gel, which is the ancestral shaman spirit; and 2) the dohn.wā (cf. Tibetan ston-pa 'a teacher, esp. a religious teacher' Das 1902:555), which are the familiar or helping spirits transmitted to the new shaman by means of the gel¹⁴. The shaman often invokes the help of other gods and spiritual beings as well, but these gods are more distantly related and not at all considered part of his personal coterie of familiar spirits. These tertiary spirits are generally referred to as bahrān. Among these spirits are gods of the Hindu pantheon, usually Barahā, Siddha, and Bhimsen. The shaman also calls on the "gods of Tibet", the "gods of the plains", and Barma, the fierce god of the

West. He calls on the God of Epilepsy and Insanity, the God of Fierce Anger, and the God with White Feet. He calls on the spirits who reside in the sacred plants barma and lādu, and the spirits of various drug plants¹⁵.

To my knowledge, all Kham-Magar shamans have the same inventory of helping spirits, which, with the gel, number nine. Five of the dohn.wā are animal spirits--the wild boar, the leopard, the bear, the monkey, and the serpent¹⁶--and three are not--the lāmā spirit, the lātā or dumb spirit, and an obscure spirit known as the zyāhphi which defies description but which manifests itself by causing the shaman to snatch the red beads from a woman's necklace and eat them.

The helping spirits manifest their presence by producing in the shaman a form of behavior in keeping with their own nature. They give him a new identity so that he acts or flies like an animal or bird. I have seen shamans in a trance very dramatically and realistically slither and squirm across the ground like a snake. Embodying a leopard spirit, the same shaman roars and bares his teeth attacking people. The monkey spirit causes the shaman to leap and spring in the air, swinging from branches or the rafters of a house¹⁷. On one occasion I watched a shaman lose control of his monkey spirit, and he went bounding and springing through the village with tremendous leaps. The other shamans tried to bring him back but couldn't catch him. After a considerable chase, he was brought back unconscious, and only after a lot of shamanizing and the sacrifice of a chicken were they able to revive him.

An interesting feature of Kham-Magar shamanism is the lāmā spirit which allegedly enables the shaman to speak in Tibetan¹⁸. I observed the manifestation of this spirit only twice. The first occasion was during a healing seance being conducted by an old master shaman. After a wild and violent dance which was the manifestation of his gel, he invoked the lāmā spirit and suddenly became calm and quiet. He sang a solemn hymn, the words of which sounded to me like a Tibetan mantra, and he danced a very graceful dance. On the second occasion, I watched a neophyte embody the lāmā spirit during the thumbu ceremony. His reaction was to babble incoherently and uncontrollably, presumably because he had not yet learned to 'control' his spirits.

The speaking of Tibetan (though usually limited to a few mantras) is regarded as one of the required manifestations of a true shaman. Such a language may correspond to the so called "secret languages" attested in certain Arctic tribes such as the Ostyak, the Chukchee, the Yakut, and the Tungus. These languages vary in their manifestations from region to region, in some places being equivalent to an "animal language" consisting of the imitation of the cries of animals, and in other places more like a highly elaborated ritual language. In any case, traces of most of the variants can be found to exist among the Kham-Magars. Animal cries

and Tibetan mantras are a part of every healing seance. There is also a ritualized language which includes many terms, phrases, and jingles unintelligible to the layman.

The Initiation Ceremony

On the day of the full moon, usually six months or so after the thumbu ceremony, the village shamans conduct a public ceremony known as boh-si-nya, that is, 'birth' (from the root boh; cf. Sanskrit bhu 'come into being'). The observance of this ceremony is in compliance with the agreement made at the thumbu ceremony--promising the gel re-birth in exchange for his protection from the helping spirits. Traditionally, the ceremony took place only on the full moon of Baisak (April-May), but nowadays is observed in other months as well (I once attended the ceremony in Kartik [October-November]). As its name implies, the 'birth' ceremony is a formal recognition by the community of the ancestral shaman's re-birth and a commissioning of the candidate of his choice. It is significant to note that at the thumbu ceremony the candidate is not allowed to wear the shamanic costume, whereas at the boh-si-nya ceremony he does wear it, giving evidence of his acceptance. He is invested with the authority of his ancestor and is placed into an apprentice relationship with his master who gives him instruction in shamanic techniques, in the oral mythology, and in the seance proper¹⁹.

The initiation ceremony of the Kham-Magars recounts various basic themes common in Siberia and Central Asia, the most prominent of them being 1) ascent to the sky, and 2) the birth of the shaman in a tree²⁰. The entire ceremony lasts for two nights and a day. That is, the main part of the ceremony takes place in the daytime, but there are related activities on the nights both preceding and following the ceremony proper. On the first night, nine pairs of village shamans meet together in the house of the future shaman where his family hosts the group, providing food and liquor. The firepit is swept, and the nine pairs of shamans sit around it in a circle and carry on a great shamanizing. The incidents of the first night are centered mostly around rites of purification. For three days they have taken no salt or meat. The future shaman's gel is invoked and libations of purified water and liquor are offered to him in the person of his successor²¹. A second major event of the first night is the release of the dohn.wā which have been held in custody since the thumbu ceremony.

Early in the morning on the day of the public ceremony, the new shaman goes into a trance and is taught by his gel the exact location of the ceremonial tree, called a suwā. He 'prophesies' disclosing its location, and sends men to fetch it. The tree cutters are sworn to silence, and should they meet anyone on the trail who asks where they are going, they are required to indicate their intention by showing their axe and a measure of chyonām, specially prepared beer and parched grain which is tossed at the

suwā when cutting it. The inquirer understands from this that he is to ask no further questions.

The suwā is a fir tree, usually about thirty feet in height and about a foot in diameter at the bottom. The pole is stripped of its bark, and the branches are lopped off except for the crown which is preserved²². A small platform is constructed about twelve feet from the ground level, large enough and strong enough to support the weight of a man. It is on this platform that the shaman is to be 'born'.

After the suwā has been cut and brought back, the shamans go out in search of the site on which it is to be erected. This is done by a sort of divination. The shamans dance out of the village in a group, some of them beating their drums, and the rest "running" their sahr ('wild goat'), or divination sticks. A master shaman dances in the lead, holding his drum thrust downward. It is said that through his drum he is able to discern the proper site, and he indicates it by crying, "Hap!" The shamans who are following him with their wild-goat sticks, thrust them into the ground in a circle and return to the village, leaving the sticks as a site marker. Later, the suwā is "planted" there with nine wild-goat sticks around its foot to prevent evil spirits from climbing the pole.

The ceremony proper begins with all nine pairs of shamans (the new shaman and his master constituting one pair) dancing from the village out to the site of the suwā--a distance of about half a mile. They dance violently, leaping and bouncing to the magical sound of their drums. The bells and iron pendants hanging from their bodies rattle and jingle at every bounce. It's quite a spectacle, indeed, eighteen dancing shamans wildly dressed in animal skins and great feather bonnets. A crowd of spectators, some from two or three days distance, lines the pathway from the village to the suwā eagerly anticipating the events of the day. Throughout the day, the shamans make a total of nine round trips from the village to the suwā. Upon arrival at the suwā they dance around it three times before returning to the village. On the final trip (the ninth) they dance first to the left, and then to the right, nine times in alternation (a total of 18 rounds). This final bout of dancing is not completed in a single act, but lasts about two hours.

The shamans sit around the pole in pairs facing each other, a master shaman and his assistant striking up a chant in antiphony. The other shamans absorb themselves in the hypnotic beat of their drums, keeping time with the master shaman and his assistant. As in the thumbu ceremony, the chants are myths of the first shaman, Puran Tsan and the various animal spirits. As each story reaches its climax, the new shaman suddenly takes on the personality of the spirit. Sitting crosslegged, his body twitches and bounces from the ground, and the rest of the shamans, seeing the signal,



The suwā- the tree upon which Puran Tsan's descendants are 'born'.

immediately change the beat of their drums to one of throbbing triumph as they leap to their feet and dance around the pole. After a few rounds, they sit down again and call up the next spirit until all have been assembled²³.

After all the spirits have assembled, the new shaman goes berserk and bursts through the crowd of spectators, leaping onto the back of a large horned ram which has been held at the edge of the site. He rides the animal as a symbolic gesture of his ride to the sky on the back of the sacrificial animal. In some healing seances, the ride is given full expression as the shaman describes his journey to the beyond step by step--but here it is only symbolic. Dismounting, he beheads the ram with a single blow of his knife, and rips out its heart with his teeth. The master shaman takes the severed ram's head in his teeth, and climbs the suwā where he offers his sacrifice to God²⁴. From the platform he lets the ram's head drop to the ground, and he shinnies on to the top of the pole. At the top he plucks a few pine needles with his teeth, letting them fall to the ground, and keeping a twig in his mouth he returns to the ground.

Having been preceded by his master with a sacrifice to heaven, it is the new shaman's turn to climb the pole. His master had been given access to heaven and his return with twigs in his mouth is evidence of that access. By giving his pupil a twig, he confers to him the right to ascend the tree and be born. The candidate's eyes are blindfolded with a turban. The leaf of a maya tree is placed over the blindfold and pierced with nine needles, signifying that he is making the journey to heaven with spiritual sight, not physical²⁵. Holding in his mouth the ram's heart and a twig from the crown of the tree, the new shaman climbs to the platform, dances around it, and then sits down shaking and trembling uncontrollably from the overwhelming presence of his spirits. The rest of the shamans and all the spectators return to the village, where the shamans enjoy a great feast at the new shaman's expense. Meanwhile, the new shaman remains on the hill alone, shaking and trembling with a bloody heart dangling from his mouth²⁶.

After the feast, towards evening, the new shaman's family appeals to the other shamans in their merrymaking and ask if they might ransom him back. After much coaxing, they go up the hill together where they haggle and argue for a suitable price. Finally the price is settled, and the family pays. Before having the new shaman come down, however, the other shamans call to him on his platform and ask him what he "sees". His eyes, of course, are still blindfolded, and he prophesies, telling the things he can see from his vantage point in heaven. He fortells of famine or plenty. He sees the coming weather conditions and whether it will be a good or bad year for the village²⁷. When all is over, he descends from the tree and returns to the village with the other shamans. There, during the course of the second night, they

- a. Climbing the suwā with a ram's head as an offering to Bhagwān



- b. A young initiate is 'born'

engage in a long ceremony for "casting off" any magical evils or destructive omens.

The Shaman's Costume

The shaman, during his shamanic practice, wears a special costume which in itself provides a number of useful insights into shamanic beliefs. By donning his costume, the shaman transforms himself into an animal or bird spirit. The costume is, in fact, regarded as a source of spiritual power for the shaman, for it represents, and is impregnated by his helping spirits. On several occasions I attempted to buy a costume from shamans in Sera. On the first occasion, a rather powerful shaman, named Deo, warned me that it could not be given to anyone who could not control it. He claimed that it would bring disaster to me and that I would continually have to make blood sacrifices to it. On another occasion, I had almost convinced a lesser shaman to sell his costume, but he finally refused, saying that it was in that costume that he was initiated and he would lose his power if he sold it. He said that he could make a replica, but he could never sell the real costume²⁸.

There are three chief types of costume found in Siberia and Central Asia--the bird, the reindeer, and the bear; but the most prevalent of these is the bird. The prevalence of the bird costume is due, no doubt, to the widespread belief that shamans can fly. Lommel suggests that the bird is symbolized because "it carries the shaman to the spirit world" (1969:112). The Kham-Magar costume, too, resembles a bird, and may prove to be the source for the shaman's name rmā, which means 'peacock' in Tibetan. The headgear is made of a hundred or so long feathers from the wings of the Monal Pheasant (Nepali, dāphe). They are arranged in such a way as to stand straight out from the head, giving the appearance of a great bird with ruffled feathers.

Bird symbolism is not the only feature of the Kham-Magar shaman's costume. The whole costume is, in fact, quite complex, featuring such things as a bearskin vest upon which are attached cowrie shells and the tusks of a wild boar. From the back of the bearskin vest hang a number of animal and bird skins such as the panda bear, flying squirrel, monkey, weasel, owl, eagle, and pheasant. From the shoulders hang two iron claw-shaped bells, and from the chest hang a great number of brass bells. From the waist hang various iron pendants, the chief being nine iron suns, nine lunar crescents, and nine iron bells²⁹. Czaplicka suggests that these iron pendants offer protection to the shaman, with the explanation that spirits fear the noise that was made in the smithy while iron implements were being made (1914:211). Jochelson, too, mentions that the iron pendants of the Yukaghir shaman are said to serve as a kind of armor in the fight with hostile shamans and spirits (1905).



A shaman in full costume, standing with his master.

✓ The Kham-Magars conceive of the whole costume as a kind of protective armor against spirits. According to Kham legend, Puran Tsan the first shaman, fashioned the iron pendants while he was working as a blacksmith in the kingdom of the underworld. Back on earth he was confronted by nine evil spirits in the form of witches, all nieces of a great sorcerer. The contest is as follows:

- "They attacked Uncle, Shaman Tsan from his head.
 You cannot eat the shaman, you cannot eat the runju.
 My loving elder sisters, my loving younger sisters,
 You are evil spirits, you are evil witches.
 Upon my head are he-serpents, she-serpents, and feathers.
 They attacked Uncle, Shaman Tsan from his ears.
 You cannot eat the shaman, you cannot eat the runju.
 My loving elder sisters, my loving younger sisters,
 You are evil spirits, you are evil witches.
 On my ears are the leaves of the syārgwā tree³⁰
 They attacked Uncle, Shaman Tsan from his eyes.
 You cannot eat the shaman, you cannot eat the runju.
 My loving elder sisters, my loving younger sisters,
 You are evil spirits, you are evil witches.
 Around my eyes is the soot of the forge.
 They attacked Uncle, Shaman Tsan from his throat.
 You cannot eat the shaman, you cannot eat the runju.
 My loving elder sisters, my loving younger sisters,
 You are evil spirits, you are evil witches.
 Around my neck is a magic necklace with a he-kucar, a
 she-kucar³¹.
 They attacked Uncle, Shaman Tsan from his back.
 You cannot eat the shaman, you cannot eat the runju.
 My loving elder sisters, my loving younger sisters,
 You are evil spirits, you are evil witches.
 On my back is a pair of iron claw-bells.
 They attacked Uncle, Shaman Tsan from his chest.
 You cannot eat the shaman, you cannot eat the runju.
 My loving elder sisters, my loving younger sisters,
 You are evil spirits, you are evil witches.
 On my chest are brass bells and cowrie shells.
 They attacked Uncle, Shaman Tsan from the center of his back.
 You cannot eat the shaman, you cannot eat the runju.
 My loving elder sisters, my loving younger sisters,
 You are evil spirits, you are evil witches.
 In the center of my back are gameskins, birdskins, and
 a yak tail.
 They attacked Uncle, Shaman Tsan from his waist.
 You cannot eat the shaman, you cannot eat the runju.
 My loving elder sisters, my loving younger sisters,
 You are evil spirits, you are evil witches.
 Around my waist is a bearskin girdle.

They attacked Uncle, Shaman Tsan from his sides.

You cannot eat the shaman, you cannot eat the runju.

My loving elder sisters, my loving younger sisters,

You are evil spirits, you are evil witches.

On my sides are the tusks of a wild boar, of a savage boar.

They attacked Uncle, Shaman Tsan from his buttocks.

You cannot eat the shaman, you cannot eat the runju.

My loving elder sisters, my loving younger sisters,

You are evil spirits, you are evil witches.

On my buttocks are nine suns, nine moons, and nine bells.

They attacked Uncle, Shaman Tsan from his thighs.

You cannot eat the shaman, you cannot eat the runju.

My loving elder sisters, my loving younger sisters,

You are evil spirits, you are evil witches.

On my thighs are a pair of trousers.

They attacked Uncle, Shaman Tsan from his anus.

You cannot eat the shaman, you cannot eat the runju.

My loving elder sisters, my loving younger sisters,

You are evil spirits, you are evil witches.

I sit on a he-jom stool, a she-jom stool.

They attacked Uncle, Shaman Tsan from his feet.

You cannot eat the shaman, you cannot eat the runju.

My loving elder sisters, my loving younger sisters,

You are evil spirits, you are evil witches.

On my feet are the prints of the he-leopard, the prints
of the she-leopard.

There is a special ceremony in which the village shamans assemble on the bank of the river to repair their equipment. The ceremony I observed took place on the day of the full moon in Baisak (April-May) in a year when there were no new shamans being initiated. Broken feathers were removed from their headgear and replaced by new ones. New animal skins were added to the backs of their vests, and in some cases, old, ragged ones were cast out. Drums needing repair were stretched with new skins, and repainted with new sketches.

The repair of each piece of equipment was followed by a time of chanting, done in antiphony by pairs of shamans. The theme of each chant is a history on the origin and development of the particular piece of equipment being celebrated. For example, while repairing the drum, the shamans chant histories of the drum hoop, the drum skin, the binding cords, the handles, and the drumsticks. The drum is personified by the personal pronoun 'you', and becomes the addressee of the chant³². The resumé of a typical chant for the drumskin is as follows:

"They tried the skins of all the wild animals,
but the gods weren't pleased, the spirits weren't happy.
So we went on a hunt, we went on a search.
Down in the low country, down in the plains,

they used the skin of the buck, they used the skin of the doe.

The gods were pleased, the spirits were happy.

But up in the mountains, high in the crags, what shall we use?

We went on a hunt, we went on a search.

We tried the mountain ram, we tried the mountain ewe.

But the gods wouldn't come, the spirits wouldn't come.

We tried the mountain billy, we tried the mountain nanny,

but the gods wouldn't come, the spirits wouldn't come.

Then we tried the wild he-sahr, we tried the wild she-sahr³³

You, sahr-pā skin were the one; you, sahr-mā skin rose to the need.

When we beat on the drum, the drum is delighted.

The gods are pleased with you, the spirits are happy with you".

The Shaman's Drum and Staff

The drum is without doubt the shaman's chief piece of equipment. It is with the drum that the shaman is able to summon his spirits and enter into contact with them. It is the drum that brings on the shaman's trance and enables him to journey to the sky and to the underworld. In short, the drum is indispensable to the primary core of the shamanic practice.

As pointed out by Czaplicka, there is an interesting linguistic correspondence in the word 'drum' all across Siberia and Central Asia. This correspondence is shared by some of the Nepal languages, as well. For example, in most Siberian tribes, the word is either tungur, dungur, or donkur. In Nepali the term is dhaiangro, in Magar dhyagoro, in Sunwar tengro, and in Chepang ringh. Kham has two terms; rehn.gor, which is used by the shamans, and dāhnrur, the laymans term. Both appear to have a common etymology.

The Kham-Magar drum is circular to oval in shape, about 18 to 24 inches in diameter, and covered on one side with the skin of the sahr or 'wild goat'. The skin is bound to the hoop with strips of cowhide, the hoop being made of the wood of the gwi, which is a type of oak. On the back side of the drum is a handle of two cane sticks which slightly cross each other and are attached to the hoop on each of the ends by two rings linked together. When the drum is beat, the loosely bound handle creates a loud clattering noise from inside the hoop³⁴. The skin of the drum is sometimes decorated with white sketches of various types, some of which resemble hemispheres of the earth, and the sun, moon, and stars. I will not, however, attempt to interpret the drawings here.

Each shaman is required, sooner or later, to cut the wood for his own drum, and bring down the wild goat from whose skin the drum will be covered. Bal Bahadur cut the wood for his drum seven years after his initiation ceremony. He went into a trance and saw in a vision the exact spot where the tree grew. Taking nine

men with him, he went off in search of the tree and found it in a valley to the north, two days journey away. When he approached the tree, the tree quaked and shook. Bal Bahadur planted nine flags around its base, and sacrificed nine chickens to it. When he layed his axe to the tree, blood flowed from it³⁵.

The chief function of the shaman's drum is to summon his spirits, who then carry him away through the sky. The Kham-Magar shaman begins every seance by beating his drum and calling his spirits. I have on tape the recording of a shaman, named Irkha, in "magical flight", in which he describes the mountains and valleys he is crossing over. Periodically, he stops, changes the beat of his drum, and re-calls some of his spirits who are lagging behind³⁶.

Drums are also used in certain types of divination, usually to further determine details of an illness³⁷. The shaman's assistant cuts a small piece of cloth from the patient's garment, and rolls it into a small ball with a leaf from the sacred barma plant. Then, while the shaman is drumming, the assistant drops the ball onto the edge of the drum. The ball comes to rest either on the cowhide tie strips, or in the triangular spaces between the tie strips. It is also important to distinguish two types of triangles--those whose apex points toward the face of the drum, and those which point to the back. Thus, three positions are distinguished. Cloth is cut from the patient's garment three times, and its resting position on the drum is determined each time. If the position is the same each time, it is supposed that there are no evils or impurities to be cast out of the patient. If, on the other hand, the three positions differ, it is determined that everyone in the household must be rid of evils and impurities, requiring the sacrifice of a chicken for each member.

Drums are sometimes used as shields to ward off the magic of rival shamans or spirits. The story is told of Thapi in the village of Hukam, who had an attack of magical power made upon him by a rival shaman named Kami from Puchar village (about 10 miles distant). Thapi saw a flash coming out of the corner of his eye and managed to stop it with his drum. It caused his drum to split in two, but he was saved. As a counterattack, he took a bushel of beans, turned them into wasps and sent them after Kami. Kami was badly stung and nearly died³⁸.

On certain occasions, Kham-Magar shamans make use of a wooden stave known as a sahr, or 'wild goat'. In function, it is analagous to the drum, and, in fact, derives its name from the drum-skin³⁹. The stave is about 3 feet long, the upper end of which has an overlay of carved metal. Tied to the stave are various metal trinkets, lunar crescents, tiny bells, and colored ribbons. The stave is "animated" by the spirits, and by clutching to it, the shaman is carried off to the place of a patient's missing soul. (cf. pp. 148).

The Shaman's Functions

The primary function of the shaman is magical healing. Illness is for the most part attributed to the loss of the human soul, and the shaman's task is to diagnose the cause of the soul's truancy, to capture it, and to re-establish it in the patient's body. There may be various reasons for a soul's absence--it is either stolen away by evil spirits, it forsakes the body on its own, or it is aggravated from its abode by impurities and evil forces⁴⁰. In the latter case, healing comes in two stages--retrieving the soul, and purification of the patient. Often, part of the treatment involves a sacrifice of some sort prescribed by the shaman to appease the evil spirits who have stolen the soul. The shaman himself does not perform the sacrifice, however, except in the case where the sacrifice must be presented to the gods of the sky or the underworld⁴¹.

The Kham-Magars distinguish three human souls or entities, the loss of any of which is sufficient cause for illness⁴². The first of the three is known as syākwā, which literally means 'flesh-cloth'. Its loss is usually attributed to the work of an evil spirit or witch. Syākwā assumes the form of a small packet consisting of bits of the patient's skin and fingernails, bound in a piece of the patient's garment and tied by several strands of his hair. Apparently, the spirits are able to exercise a magical power over a person if they have in their possession these symbols of the real person. Only the shaman, through the power of his helping spirits is able to retrieve the syākwā.

The second soul, sāto (from the Nepali), often assumes the shape of an insect or beetle and as such abandons the body. To retrieve it, the shaman calls on the help of his snake spirit, and "descends underground" in his search for it. When he finds it, he reintroduces it into the patient's body by calling on him to swallow it⁴³.

The third soul, purus (from Sanskrit meaning 'person'), is more closely associated to the real man than are the other two. To lose one's purus is serious indeed, and usually means imminent death unless the shaman is able to retrieve it--a task he often fails in. To retrieve a purus involves a long and arduous journey on the road to the underworld. Often, life and death is a matter of timing; the shaman must overtake the soul before it gets too far down the road to death.

When a person dies, there is always a danger that his purus may return and haunt the village. This haunting spirit is known as a syuryāh or sometimes masān, after the Nepali. The belief is due in part to the frequency of epidemics, which they attribute to the return of the dead. Accidental deaths, such as falling off a cliff, etc., cases of headache and dizziness, and cases of hysteria or madness are often attributed to an attack by a syuryāh. The shaman is called upon in such cases to exorcise the attacking

spirit. If a few simple mantras are not sufficient to expel it, the shaman, through the use of threats, forces the ghost to reveal his identity and purpose in coming. The syuryāh often requires the promise of an appeasement sacrifice and the burning of incense before agreeing to leave⁴⁴.

At the time of a person's burial, precautions are taken to prevent the return of his soul. The mat in which the corpse is buried is filled with corn, known as sān.bal, in the belief that if the soul is well fed in the otherworld, it will be happy. When carrying the body of the deceased out of the village for burial, it is preceded by a length of white cloth (some 50 or 60 feet long) known as a "way cloth" and is supposed to guide the soul from the village to its proper place. In addition, the funeral party, when returning to the village, scatters the trail with sān.bal in hopes that, should the spirit leave his grave, he will become preoccupied with picking up food, and never return⁴⁵. As a final act, a funerary banquet is held a few months after death, known as sī khyānya, or 'casting away the soul'. A sacrificial sheep whose sex corresponds to that of the deceased is decorated and dressed up to represent the deceased. The family assembles, feeds the sheep with the best of food, and with great weeping pronounces their blessings and good wishes upon it. The sheep is then taken away to the bank of the river by the deceased's bāhnja ('sister's son, or son-in-law'), where it is slaughtered and eaten by persons of low caste. The village seer (also a Kham-Magar) is called upon to engrave the name of the deceased on a flat stone tablet, and then by means of mantras, he locks the soul (symbolized by the stone) into a large ancestor stand. As he buries the stone he proclaims,

"Go to the place of your grandfathers, your great-grandfathers.
Be happy and prosper. Be content where you are.
Do not come back to haunt us. Do not do us mischief.
Be happy, be content where you are".

With this benediction, the village is purified of the soul's haunting presence, and the person is thereafter believed to have officially entered the realm of the dead. He is thereafter honored along with the rest of his ancestors in an annual sacrifice in which the bāhnja is the main officiant⁴⁶.

The Shaman's Seance

Most shamanic seances are performed to diagnose illness and to effect its cure. The healing seance has a great number of variants, and to describe them all would go beyond the scope of this paper. Thus, I will attempt to describe the general pattern with a few examples.

In general, the healing seance comes in two phases, with the possibility of a third in case the patient's soul has been "aggravated" from its place by some sort of evil or impurity. These

phases are 1) the diagnosis and attempt to re-call the soul from nearby, 2) the mystical journey beyond, and 3) expellation of the evil or impurity. As we shall presently see, these three phases get different interpretations depending upon which of the three souls is missing. The whole seance is more "mystical" in case the missing soul is a purus (the purus is invisible); whereas, the same themes have a more "ritualized" interpretation, employing material symbols in case the soul being dealt with is a sāto or syākwā (both are visible entities).

No seance begins without first erecting a suwā. The house suwā is a miniature, and is made by decorating the main pillar of the house (next to the firepit) with the foliage of the syārgwā, the tree from which Puran Tsan the first shaman, was born. The suwā, or "World Tree" is the shaman's point of access both to the sky and to the underworld. The shaman denies access to these regions to the evil spirits by tying his 'wild-goat' stave to the foot of the suwā.

Members of the household and other interested individuals assemble to witness the events of the shaman's seance, known as kī-nya. The shaman, sitting with his celmi or 'assistant' next to the firepit, begins to beat his drum and invoke the various spirits, beginning with his gel or ancestor spirit. Pausing intermittently, the shaman's assistant begins to ask him questions about what he "sees". The questions usually have to do with future events, such as, "How will my trading trip to the south turn out"?, etc. The shaman beats his drum until, overwhelmed by his spirits, his body trembles and he falls into a deep sleep. When he comes to, he answers the question, telling what "appeared" to him⁴⁷.

On one occasion a young man from San Francisco, claiming to be a Hindu sadhu on a pilgrimage, passed through our village. At his request, I took him to watch a shamanic seance. Irkha, the shaman who was performing, "woke" from one of his spells and said to me, "Tell your friend that I see something concerning his pilgrimage. He should discontinue going any further west; otherwise, in one month he will become desperately ill. He will not die, but the hardship will be great. Tell him to turn back and worship the gods at Muktinath (a holy place in north central Nepal). If he obeys, he will not come ill". The man took his advice and started for Muktinath the following day.

The shaman performs other prodigious feats, too, all of which give evidence to his audience that he has transcended the human plane. In every seance he exhibits a special "mastery over fire". When his guardian animal spirits descend upon him, he angrily leaps upon the fire and puts it out with his hands. In the darkness, the cries of animals come from his lips. Taking hot coals from the fire, he eats them. He picks up the hot cooking tripod with his bare hands and places it on the back of his neck. He demonstrates to his audience that he has not been harmed--a feat which greatly astonishes them.

After performing his magical feats, the shaman enters the inner room with the patient to determine the cause of the illness. I have not been able to observe this part of the seance, and therefore know very little of how the diagnosis is performed. The informants' explanations on this point are simply that the shaman, by means of his spirits, is able to "see" the cause in some sort of an all-inclusive vision. He can "see" which soul is missing, who stole it, and so on.

If the missing soul is a purus, the shaman's first task in the process of retrieving it is known as "entering into enlightenment". The shaman invokes his wild boar spirit, and with the patient riding on his back, he crawls around the room on his hands and knees simulating a wild boar running through the forest. The patient, if physically able, kills a chicken on the shaman's back with his teeth. When he dismounts, the shaman lies on the floor enacting a deep sleep. It is supposed that his soul roams around nearby in search of the missing purus. If he finds it, he leaps to his feet and shouts a victorious "Hap"! If not, he sits up, rubs his eyes as if being roused from a deep sleep, and announces that he must search for it on the road to the underworld⁴⁸.

Once the shaman has determined that he must journey on the road to the underworld, he performs a divination with his drum to determine if there is an impurity or evil force which has caused the soul to flee. (This divination is described in more detail on page 142). If it is determined that there are impurities, the shaman is required to make two ecstatic journeys--the first at night to retrieve the soul from its prison, and the second in the morning to get rid of the impurities. The journey to retrieve the soul is performed in its entirety as a kind of chant accompanied by the beat of the drum. The shaman, in a state of ecstasy, "rides" his leopard spirit on the road to the underworld, and as he goes, he gives an account of his journey. Leaving the village he chants:

"I come with my drum, I come with my armor, I come with my gel.
I am riding nine leopards, and I go with the gods of the north,
I go with the gods of the south".

The shaman travels east to a high mountain pass, and from there descends into the "underworld". Many of the geographical names used are both real and symbolic⁴⁹. For example, just beyond Dhorpatan is a large stone with a natural groove around its middle. The stone is called "The Tying Place of the Death Sacrifice", and as such is a symbolic road marker for the road to death. The groove is attributed to the wear of the ropes of animals which have been tied there for the "casting-away-the-soul" sacrifice. Further on, at the mountain pass, is a dividing of watersheds. The water which runs toward the village is known as "The Waters of Remembrance", and the water flowing the other way as "The Waters of Forgetfulness". In retrieving the soul, it is said that if the shaman can overtake it while it is still within the Waters of Remembrance, its capture and subsequent re-installation is comparatively easy. If,

on the other hand, the soul has reached The Waters of Forgetfulness, it will forget its home and family and wander on to the underworld. As such, its capture is much more difficult.

At various stages in the journey, the shaman changes the rhythm of his drum, and shifts the meter of his chant in accordance. Periodically, he halts to scold and re-call some of his helping spirits who are lagging behind. This too is accompanied by a change of beat. Finally, he comes to the place of the soul's captivity where he gives a shout of triumph and begins to bargain with the gods of the underworld, imploring them to free the soul. Finally, with the soul in his possession, the shaman returns by the same route. As he approaches the village he cries out, "I've captured the soul and I bring it for you!" whereupon he gives his patient a drink of beer or alcoholic spirits.

The second part of the ceremony is similar to the first in its enactment, except that its purpose is to wash "impurities" and "evil omens" down the great river, the Kali Gandaki. Impurities and evil omens are usually represented in the form of forked stalks of bamboo, barley, or wheat. The shaman watches for these omens and collects them on his night journey to retrieve the soul. This is known as "collecting the evil". In the morning he mounts the sacrificial animal (a sheep or goat) and rides off on his journey to the river. As his soul leaves the village he cries,

"I come with my drum, I come with my sacrifice.
I have forks of barley, forks of wheat, forks of he-bamboo
and she-bamboo.
I come to wash you away, kānūl. I come to wash you away,
bānūl".

Finally with his task completed, the shaman journeys home and tells his audience the things he "saw" from his spiritual plane. He may prophesy someone's death, or the coming of bad weather⁵⁰. Soon afterward, he kills the sacrificial goat, cooks its meat, and with his assistants enjoys a feast.

Many villagers are convinced of the reality of the shaman's spiritual journey to the underworld. They claim that on one occasion a shaman from Sera had been to the Kali Gandaki to wash away evil omens and was on his return trip when he met, coming up the trail, a shaman from Hukam (one day north of Sera). The shaman from Hukam was carrying a load of forked bamboo to wash down the river. The shaman from Sera began to shout excitedly, "Clear the road, I'm coming through"! But the other shaman stubbornly refused, and a great collision ensued. The shaman from Sera was thrown completely out of the house in which he was shamanizing, and when the audience picked him up unconscious, he was scratched and bleeding from wounds inflicted by the forked bamboo.

The ceremonies and activities described above are for the purpose of retrieving the purus from the road to the underworld. In the case of a missing sāto or syākwā, the shaman is dealing with visible entities, and as a result, the ceremonies involved are more ritualistic, employing a number of material symbols. A missing sāto is believed to be in the possession of a spirit known as Sepā Serong, and the shaman tries first to retrieve it without leaving the village. A mat is spread in front of the patient's house, and on the mat is a chicken held captive in a basket. Beside the basket is a dish of water, the receptacle for the sāto. The shaman and nine participants dance out of the house, around the basket in the presence of Sepā Serong, and back into the house. This is repeated nine times. One of the dancers is a deaf-mute, who is usually very ugly, having a large, protruding goiter. Painted up in a ludicrous way and wearing only a loincloth, he calls out to Sepā Serong in long shrill cries. This causes Sepā Serong to laugh with great hilarity, giving the soul a chance to escape. Sometimes Sepā Serong is not in a laughing mood, however, and the deaf-mute has to go to extra measures--like the enactment of a copulating dog⁵¹. After the last round of dancing, the chicken is taken from its basket, mesmerized, and laid across the dish of water. The audience is required to watch from hiding so as not to frighten the sāto and prevent its return. When the sāto arrives, the chicken jumps to its feet and squawks--he is the first to perceive it. One of the assistants rushes to the dish and hopefully pulls out an insect or bug. This is the patient's sāto.

The patient's syākwā is re-called in a similar manner. The shaman's assistant brings water from the spring in a wooden jug. He purifies the jug by rubbing it with the sacred barma plant. A white cloth is tied around the neck of the jug, and another is laid over its mouth. The jug is placed at the edge of the roof where the assistant watches it from hiding. Inside the house, the shaman goes into a trance and roams the countryside for the syākwā. If he finds it, he shouts "Hap!" and the assistant rushes to the jug and covers its mouth with his hand. If he is quick enough, inside the jug will be the syākwā, a small bundle of dry skin and fingernails bound into a piece of the patient's garment, and tied with strands of his hair.

Often the shaman is not able to retrieve the sāto or syākwā in the manner described above. In such case, he is required to search for it with his 'wild-goat stave'--a practice which in symbolic form retains all the traditional themes of a journey beyond. I have watched this practice several times, though I have never seen the preliminary ceremony in which the stick is "animated". Two shamans and one assistant participate. The first shaman, obviously in a state of ecstasy, holds onto the stick with both hands. The stick vibrates violently and seemingly pulls him along. The second shaman, in full costume, follows, throwing chyonām or 'magical seed' at the stick to keep it animated. The



A shaman dancing - recalling the soul.

assistant brings up the rear carrying the seed and other necessary gear. The wild-goat stave continues to vibrate and pull the shaman until it comes to rest at the place of the missing soul, usually a graveyard or swampy area. The second shaman, embodying his snake spirit, "descends into the earth"; wallowing through the mud on his stomach until he finds the soul--a bug if it is a sāto, and a packet of skin and fingernails if it is a syākwā. A fire is kindled, incense is burned, and a chicken is sacrificed to placate the evil spirit who had been in possession of the soul.

If the shaman determines that the soul (sāto or syākwā) has fled because of aggravation, then the evil must be "washed away", as we have seen once in connection with the purus. The figure of a demon on horseback is made of dough and painted yellow to symbolize its evil nature. At night, the shaman's assistant puts the demon in a tiny boat on the river, where it floats away. Meanwhile, the shaman sits in the house beating his drum, and he describes step by step the itinerary of the horse and its rider until it reaches Chumkutya bridge (about ten miles downriver). The evil has been eradicated.

There are some cases of illness which are not attributed to the loss of a soul, but rather to the intrusion of a magical object into the patient's body. This belief has its precedent in one of the myths of Puran Tsan the first shaman. He was very irritated by the poor treatment he had received from the king after curing the king's wife. So, he introduced by magic a piece of lime into the queen's stomach, and a leaf of the syārgwā tree into her heart to insure that she would remain ill until he himself removed the offending objects.

One of the common magical objects which causes illness is the invisible arrow of the ban ngāo or 'woodland fairy'. The woodland fairies are hunting spirits, and it is said that on a quiet night they can be heard calling their hunting dogs, and the bells on their hunting dogs' collars can be heard jingling⁵². When the shaman determines that his patient has been struck by one of their arrows, he prescribes an action which will "reverse" their magic. To reverse the magic, the ceremony must also be in "reverse". A horse and rider is made of dough and painted yellow. The figure is placed on a leaf plate along with an offering of a young chicken and nine lumps of bread. A member of the patient's household is required to make a night-time excursion to a crossroads outside the village where he proceeds to shoot the chicken and the rider three times each. His weapon is a bow and three arrows, all inversely constructed. The bow is strung backwards with its back bent inward. The string is twisted backwards; that is, counter-clockwise. The arrows, too, are made backwards with the point and butt ends reversed. After shooting the chicken and the horseman, the three arrows are shot backwards over the archer's shoulder in three different directions. The bow is broken and laid on the leaf plate with the offering. This is believed to "reverse" the woodland fairies' magic⁵³.

Still other cases of illness are attributed to some kind of a "hex" either by an evil spirit or a living person. Care is taken when cooking food out of doors to keep the cooking pot covered lest a passing spirit cast a spell on the food. People are also hesitant to accept or eat food in the presence of certain villagers suspicioned of being witches lest they incur similar spells. Ill fortune (known as mahn)--most notably in regards to crops, the accumulation of wealth, or in game hunting--is often attributed to the spirit world. To avoid mahn, villagers are burdened with a host of superstitions, the sum of which tend to make them suspicious of their neighbors and very secretive in their own affairs. For example, if a game animal is taken in a hunt, the kill must be kept secret. A single utterance of exclamation or admiration from an outsider, especially a stranger, will cause mahn--the ruination of future hunts. Only the shaman can rid a person of mahn; for no other reason than the fact that he is a psychopomp, capable of leaving his body and traveling great distances. Mahn must be "washed" down the great Bheri River to the west (near Surkhet) and the shaman is called upon in such cases to make an ecstatic journey there and back.

Myths of the First Shaman

Most of the Siberian peoples have myths concerning the origin of the first shaman. Although many versions exist, one of the most widespread beliefs is that he was born in a tree of a great eagle. Today, the souls of his descendants are born in the branches of the same tree. We have seen this theme preserved, at least in symbolic form, in the Kham-Magar 'birth' ceremony.

Myths of the first shaman sometimes merge with myths of the first blacksmith. An old Yakut proverb says, "Smiths and shamans are from the same nest" (Czaplicka 1914:211). The first blacksmith was in some cases the chief smith of the underworld. It was on his forge that the shaman's equipment and iron pendants were fashioned.

There are a number of stories of the first, or mythical shaman, in Kham-Magar mythology, only a few of which I have collected. I reproduce the following because it not only speaks of the first shaman, but shows him to be closely associated with Tiku, the first smith of the underworld (in this story he appears to be identical with Tiku). The story was told to me by Tipalkya Bhuda, and is clearly reminiscent of certain Siberian themes; plus a synthesis of other traditions as well.

"Long ago in the North Country at a place called Kāndā Tāli in Syārgwā Meadow, Shaman Puran Tsan was born in a syārgwā tree. Below lived the king of Golkhādā in a place called Rāni Gāon, Māni Gāon. The king's wife, the queen, fell sick one day. The king, in hopes that she could be cured, sent his men to search for sorcerers and shamans. At first they went to the place of Māitya, a sorcerer, to have him "gaze into water". When he gazed into the water, he

could see everything in all four directions, but he would not conjure the evil spirits responsible for the illness—they were his nieces. Finally, the king sent for the shaman, Puran Tsan. When Puran Tsan arrived, he simply blew a magic spell into some water, gave it to the queen to drink, and she was cured.

"The nine sisters, nieces of Maitya the sorcerer, heard of Puran Tsan's deed. They counteracted his magic by making the queen ill again, and then spreading the rumor that Puran Tsan was really an evil wizard. "Look", they said, "when he's here she gets better, and when he leaves she becomes ill again". Finally, the king, convinced that Puran Tsan really must be evil, sent his troops in full armor to drive him from the palace. This greatly embarrassed and irritated Puran Tsan who fled for home. He complained to his two wives, Juhmā and Padmā, saying, "My visit to the king was worse than useless. I have been embarrassed to the limit. I can no longer face the world. Me! One who has come into being on his own! Chased by the king as an evil wizard! It's worse than losing one's caste. It would be better if I just disappeared into the underworld for awhile".

"But before Puran Tsan left for the underworld, he, by magic, introduced a piece of lime into the queen's stomach, and a leaf of the syārgwā tree into her heart to make sure she would not become well until he was called for. He enjoined his two wives to tell no one the secret of where he went; "unless", he said, "they bring you a pot full of gold and a pot full of silver. And when you tell them", he said, "give them this riddle:

The road the shaman took is marked by lime and riri,
syārgwā and thiri.

The road the evil wizard took is marked by ashes and
wālwāl, soot and wālwāl".

"Puran Tsan went down, down, down, nine steps down into the underworld. When he got there, the kings of the underworld were in session at a great meeting with nine councils. Puran Tsan presented himself for work, and asked for a place to stay. They asked his occupation, and he replied that he was a blacksmith. So they let him set up a shop in the downstairs floor of the headman's house, where he fashioned knives, sickles, axes, and other implements of iron.

"While Puran Tsan was working as a smith in the underworld, the queen of Golkhādā was growing worse. It was expected that she would die any day. The king, wondering if he hadn't acted unwisely toward Puran Tsan sent for him again. The king's soldiers came to Puran Tsan's two wives, and asked, "Where's Puran Tsan"? "Puran Tsan has not yet returned from the palace", they replied. "What's the meaning of this"? the soldiers wondered, "he should have been home by now"! But his wives insisted that they hadn't seen him.

"Finally, sometime later, the soldiers suspected Tsan's wives of withholding the truth, and they threatened them saying, "If you don't tell us where he went, we'll shove you off a cliff, we'll throw you in the river". So the wives made their bargain, "If you give us a pot of gold and a pot of silver, we'll tell you where he went". The soldiers complied and were given the following directions:

The road the shaman took is marked by lime and riri,
syārgwā and thiri.

The road the evil wizard took is marked by ashes and
wālwāl, soot and wālwāl.

"The soldiers were smart enough to follow the road marked by lime and syārgwā. As they went, they descended deep into the underworld and came upon another council meeting. They asked the kings if they had seen the shaman Puran Tsan. "No, we haven't seen such a man", they said. "There is only one outsider here, and that's a blacksmith living in the bottom floor of the headman's house. He fashions implements of iron". So the soldiers went there and asked, "Hey, brother Tiku, have you seen the shaman Puran Tsan around"? "No, I haven't seen him", Tsan replied. I've spent all my time right here working at the forge". "Well, then", the soldiers asked, "have you heard any rumors about such a person"? Puran Tsan thought for a moment and replied, "well, I once heard of someone who meets your description over in the East Country. Why don't you go check on him"?

"The soldiers went to the East Country and met up with goblins and ogres. The goblins smelled the flesh of the soldiers and came after them with a terrific clamour and racket. The soldiers fled in terror and barely escaped. Again they came to the place of Puran Tsan. "That's not the place", they complained. "You lied to us and we were nearly killed". "Well", replied Tsan "I heard a very slight rumor that the one you are looking for might be in the West Country".

"The soldiers went to the West Country, where again they met up with ogres and goblins. The goblins again smelled their flesh and came after them in hot pursuit. The soldiers were so terrified they nearly died. When they returned to the forge of Puran Tsan they said, "Brother Tiku, the blacksmith, you are the shaman, you are the healer. On your head is a feather headdress". Puran Tsan denied the charge saying, "I am not the one, sirs. On my head is the tumpline I use to carry coal to the forge".

"Brother Tiku the blacksmith, you are the shaman, you are the healer. Around your eyes is the soot of the forge". Puran Tsan denied it saying, "I am not the one, sirs. On my way to the forge I blacked my eyes so I wouldn't be blinded by the snow".

"Brother Tiku the blacksmith, you are the shaman, you are the healer. On your ears is the leaf of the syārgwā tree". Puran Tsan

denied it saying, "I am not the one, sirs. On my way to the forge I picked a flower and put it in my ear".

"Brother Tiku the blacksmith, you are the shaman, you are the healer. On your back are gameskins, birdskins, and a yak tail". Puran Tsan denied it saying, "I am not the one, sirs. That's a pouch I use to carry coal to the forge".

"Brother Tiku the blacksmith, you are the shaman, you are the healer. Around your waist is a bearskin girdle". Puran Tsan denied it saying, "I am not the one, sirs. When I hammer at the anvil my waist hurts and I gird it up".

"Brother Tiku the blacksmith, you are the shaman, you are the healer. On your left hand is a bracelet of rhododendron wood, and in your right hand is a cane drumstick". Puran Tsan denied it saying, "I am not the one, sirs. When I work at the anvil I have a hammer in one hand and tongs in the other".

"Brother Tiku the blacksmith, you are the shaman, you are the healer. On your thighs are a pair of trousers". Puran Tsan denied it saying, "I am not the one, sirs. I wear trousers to keep from getting burned from the sparks when working at the forge".

"Brother Tiku the blacksmith, you are the shaman, you are the healer. You are sitting on a shaman's stool". Puran Tsan denied it saying, "I am not the one, sirs. I've laid down a wooden plank to keep out of the soot while working at the forge".

"Brother Tiku the blacksmith, you are the shaman, you are the healer. On your feet are the prints of a he-leopard, the prints of a she-leopard". Puran Tsan denied it saying, "I am not the one, sirs. I have sores on my feet from the sparks while working at the forge".

"Puran Tsan outwitted the soldiers every time. The soldiers discussed it among themselves. "We've got to think of something", they said. "He won't let us get him on anything". They brought a piece of the sacred barma plant and dropped it into the firepit. The leaves scorched and the smell permeated the room. The shaman Puran Tsan went berserk and his body began to tremble. Even the forge stood on end and shook. There was no doubt that this was the shaman Puran Tsan. The soldiers had exposed him.

"Puran Tsan ascended up, up, up, nine steps up out of the underworld. The soldiers took him to Rānī Gāon, Mānī Gāon in Golkhādā. He was brought before the queen and he magically removed the lime from her stomach, and the syārgwā from her heart. He gave her a drink of water and she became well. He told the king, "Listen, oh King, those who are making your wife ill are evil spirits. How about if I got rid of them"? The king was impressed, and as they discussed the matter, they discovered that the two of them were, in fact, relatives--related through their wives. Now they could speak with unusual candor.

"Listen, Brother King, those who are making the queen ill are evil spirits, and I'm going to get rid of them. But when I do, please don't darken your countenance or become angry". The king replied, "Don't worry, Brother, even if they're my sisters, get rid of them. Even if they're my own children, get rid of them. Even if they're my close friends, get rid of them. When you get rid of those enemies, I won't darken my countenance or become angry". So Puran Tsan told him they were nine sisters, all nieces of the sorcerer. "Go ahead and kill them", the king answered.

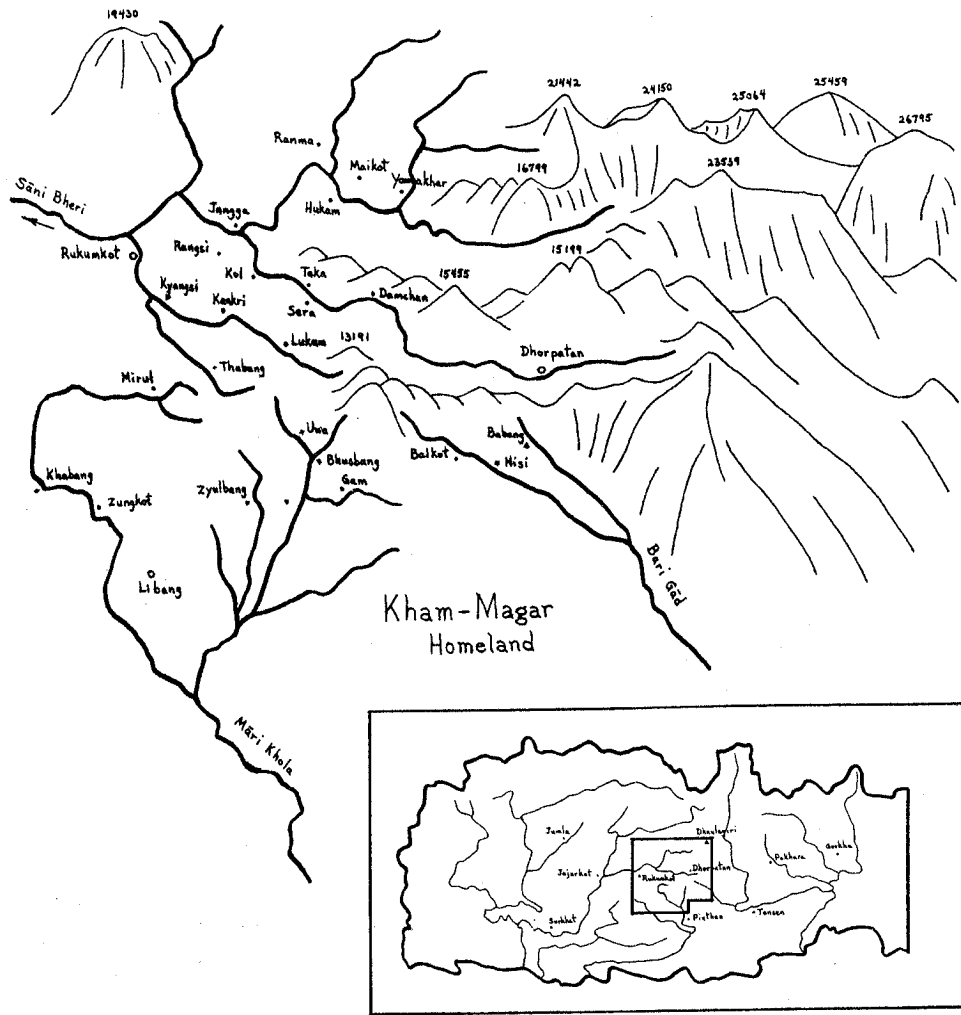
"Puran Tsan put on his costume and went out to the village crossroads. He cast a magical spell over the nine sisters, and they came to him. Puran Tsan greeted them by singing.

My loving elder sisters, my loving younger sisters,
 You are evil spirits, you are evil witches.
 I'll yank out your hearts, I'll yank out your livers.
 I'll make them dance in the hoop of my drum".

"Oh please, please, Uncle Shaman Tsan, don't kill us", they begged. "We're in league with you, and you're in league with us". "What agreement could there be between you and I"? Puran Tsan demanded. "Well", they said, "we'll prey on men, steal their souls and make them sick. You can shamanize for them and receive payment of money and grain. Then you in return can give us blood offerings, and we'll live on that". So Puran Tsan, in his greed for money, agreed. He didn't kill them when he had the chance, but let them go in peace. From that day on, shamans and evil spirits have provided each other a living"⁵⁴.

CONCLUSIONS

That Kham-Magar shamanism is related to the classical tradition of Siberia and Central Asia is clear. The tradition has been modified, of course--in some areas quite markedly so. Such is the "escort" of the deceased's soul to the otherworld. In still other areas the tradition has been refined through institutionalization. Such is the thumbu ceremony, in which the classic themes of ecstatic initiation are formalized in a ritual ceremony. Many of the themes of classical shamanism can be found with varying degrees of modification in other ethnic groups of Nepal as well, at least in kernel form--for example, the initiation of the Tamang bombo, the trance of the Lepcha mun (Gorer 1967), the ritual journey of the Thulung Rai (Allen 1974), the costume of the Gurung pucu and klihbri (Pignède 1966)-- to name only a few. Does this suggest, perhaps, that there was a proto-tradition of the non-Indic peoples of Nepal which may have very closely resembled the classic Inner Asian tradition? The incidence of Kham-Magar shamanism shows that such a tradition can and does, in fact, exist in Nepal.



FOOTNOTES

1. (p. 123) Fieldwork for this paper was conducted between the years 1970-73 while doing linguistic research in the Kham language pursuant to an agreement between Tribhuvan University-Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies, and The Summer Institute of Linguistics. I especially want to express my gratitude to Dr. Surya Bahadur Sakya, Vice Chancellor of Tribhuvan University, and to Dr. P.R. Sharma, Dean of the Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies, for their active interest in research scholarship. I also wish to thank Dr. A.W. Macdonald for his useful comments on this paper. And to my friends in the villages of Taka and Sera in the Dhaulagiri and Rapti Zones, I wish to express appreciation for sharing their knowledge with me--especially Tipalkya Bhuda, Ram Kumar Bhuda, Hasta Ram Bhuda, Shaman Bal Bahadur Bhuda, Shaman Irkha Bhuda, and Shaman Deo Bhuda.

2. (p. 123) Kham words which are underlined follow the transcription rules of Watters and Watters 1973, with the exception that in this paper the high-central vowel is represented by ɨ, the mid-central vowel by a, and the low-central vowel by ā (the latter two in Devanagari are ऋ and ॠ respectively). The digraph symbol n. (as in ban.) represents nasalization of the preceding vowel, and syllable final h (as in boh) represents a lax or breathy phonation on the preceding vowel. Works available in the Kham language are:

Kham Computer Concordance, David E. Watters. University of Oklahoma. (In the Tribhuvan University library).
 Kham Phonemic Summary, David E. Watters. S.I.L. mimeo
 A Guide to Kham Tone, David E. Waters. S.I.L. mimeo
 Clause Patterns in Kham, David E. Watters, in Clause, Sentence, and Discourse Patterns in Selected Languages of Nepal, ed. Austin Hale. University of Oklahoma.
 An English-Kham, Kham-English Glossary, David and Nancy Watters. Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur.
 Speaker-Hearer Involvement in Kham, David E. Watters. SIL mimeo.

3. (p. 125) Hitchcock (1967) has already postulated an Inner Asian origin for the shamanistic tradition of Bhuji valley (referred to later by him as Dhaulagiri Shamanism). He shows, however, that in comparing the Dhaulagiri tradition to Eliade's "classical" tradition, there are certain "decadent" aspects, most notably in regards to "magical flight"--the enactment of ascension being almost totally absent. There is no doubt, however, that the tradition described by Hitchcock is closely related to the tradition described in this paper. The Magars of Hitchcock's description are in fact Kham-Magars living on the southeastern fringe of the Kham-Magar territory, but have been in close contact with Nepali speaking peoples

for a long time. Since a number of "classical" features absent in the Bhuji valley are still practiced in the heart of the Kham-Magar territory, I think Hitchcock's use of the term "decadent" is probably correct. A construct of the shamanism practiced throughout the whole of Kham-Magar territory may not differ in many respects from Eliade's construct of North and Central Asia.

4. (p. 125) In Siberia and Central Asia one finds both hereditary and spontaneous election, but usually a combination of the two, as among the Kham-Magars. That is, the gift is transmitted in a family lineage, but only to those whom the spirits choose. Such is the pattern, for example, among the Buryat, the Tungus, and the Yakut (Eliade 1964:13-16). The Altaians believe that no one becomes a shaman of his own free will; rather it comes to him like a "hereditary disease" (Czaplicka 1914:178).
5. (p. 125) Among the Yakut, this spirit or "sign" which is passed on is known as amagat, and corresponds in nearly every respect to the Kham-Magar gel. It is in most cases the soul of a departed shaman. Regarding its transmission, Czaplicka notes that "whenever a family numbers a shaman among its members, it continues to do so, for after his death the amagat seeks to re-embody itself in someone belonging to the same clan" (1914:213).
6. (p. 126) Among the Tungus of the Trans-Baikal region, a dead shaman appears to a candidate in a dream and summons him to become his successor. One who is to become a shaman appears shy, distraught, and is in a highly nervous condition (Czaplicka 1914:177). Czaplicka further notes that "to be called to become a shaman is generally equivalent to being afflicted with hysteria (1914:172). Similar instances are found in the records of most Siberian tribes.
7. (p. 126) Among the Chukchee, the novice loses all interest in the ordinary affairs of life. He ceases to work, eats but little and without relishing his food, and ceases to talk to people. The greater part of his time he spends in sleep (Czaplicka 1914:179). Among the Buryat, "before becoming a shaman the candidate must be sick for a long time; his soul is carried off by the spirits, and in the palace of the gods he learns the secrets of the profession. The souls of his shaman ancestors surround him, torture him, strike him, cut his body with knives, and so on. During this operation the future shaman remains inanimate; his face and hands are blue, and his heart scarcely beats" (Eliade 1964:19,43,44).
8. (p. 127) Radloff, cited by Casanowicz (1924:420) observes that by resisting the shamanic call, the candidate is only "exposing himself to terrible tortures, ending either in the entire loss of his mental power, becoming an imbecile, or in stark madness.

which ends in suicide or death in a paroxysm". Among the Chukchee, "the rejection of the spirits is much more dangerous even than the acceptance of their call. A young man thwarted in his call will sicken and shortly die" (Bogoraz 1904).

9. (p. 127) This practice is related in principle to a practice found among the Buryat. The relatives of the novice, during his initiatory period, appeal to an experienced shaman, who makes a sacrifice to propitiate the spirits and induce them to help the young shaman-to-be (Czaplicka 1914:186). The theme has undergone extensive institutionalization among the Kham-Magars.
10. (p. 128) This is an interesting point in view of Eliade's comment that in Siberia the primary role of the spirit of the dead shaman is not to create the shamanic vocation, but to "serve the candidate as a means of entering into contact with divine or semidivine beings" (1964:85).
11. (p. 128) This is in keeping with Rasmussen's observation that when "one is attacked by a helping spirit" he experiences a feeling of "inexplicable terror" (Eliade 1964:91).
12. (p. 130) The Siberian candidate is expected to see in a dream the exact place where he will find his future costume, and he himself goes to look for it (Eliade 1964:147).
13. (p. 130) This is in keeping with Czaplicka's observation that after a period of hysteria, "accepting the call means recovery" (1914:172).
14. (p. 130) The Goldi and other Siberian tribes also distinguish between these two classes of spirits. Among the Goldi, the "tutelary spirit" (corresponding to the gel) is the one which chooses the shaman, and the "helping spirits" (corresponding to the dohn.wā) are subordinate to it and are granted to the shaman by the tutelary spirit itself (Eliade 1964:71).
15. (p. 131) Eliade observes that "any god or spirit invoked during a shamanic seance is not by that fact one of the shaman's 'familiar' or 'helpers'. The great gods are often invoked. This is the case, for example, among the Altaians; before setting out on his ecstatic journey the shaman invites the attendance of Jajyk Kan, Kaira Kan, Bai Ulgan and his daughters, and other mystical figures" (1964:88).
16. (p. 131) In the Siberian region, the majority of helping spirits have animal and bird forms--wolves, bears, boars, stags, hares, eagles, and all kinds of birds (Czaplicka 1914:179). The Samoyeds of the Turukhinsk region allow for a certain amount of variation in the types of helping spirits, but hold that every shaman has a helping spirit in the shape of a wild boar (Casanowicz 1924:423).

17. (p. 131) "The Tungus shaman who has a snake as a helping spirit attempts to imitate the reptile's motions during the seance; another, having the whirlwind as a helping spirit, behaves accordingly" (Eliade 1964:92).

18. (p. 131) Speaking in other languages is attested in Siberia as well. Czaplicka cites the Yakut shaman Tiuspiut as telling Sieroszewski: "When I was travelling in the north, I came upon a heap of wood in the mountains, and as I just wanted to cook some dinner, I set this on fire. Now, under this heap was buried a well known Tungus shaman, and so his amagyat leapt into me" (Czaplicka 1914:184). Eliade reasons that this is why Tiuspiut uttered Tungusic words during seances. He adds that "he received other spirits too--Russians, Mongols, and so on--and spoke their languages" (1964:82).

19. (p. 132) In Siberia, public initiation does not normally occur until after the candidate's full instruction--that is, both from the spirits and also from the master shaman. The Kham-Magar practice, however, is in keeping with Eliade's observation that the public ceremony "only confirms and validates the real ecstatic and secret initiation, which is the work of the spirits, and is completed by apprenticeship to a master shaman" (1964:110).

20. (p. 132) According to Siberian legends (and Kham-Magar legends as well) the first shaman was born in a tree. Of special interest is the Yakut legend that shamans still are born in the branches of a giant fir tree in the north. Eliade shows that the tree symbolizes the mythological World Tree which lies at the center of the world, whose roots extend to the underworld, and whose crown ascends into heaven (Eliade 1964: 269-74). The Tree for the Kham-Magars figures in all shamanistic seances, and adorns the shaman's burial cairn.

21. (p. 132) The Buryat initiation ceremony is preceded by a purification rite which has the following details: water is drawn from a spring and purified by throwing wild thyme, juniper, and pine bark into the pot. They also offer libations of wine and brandy to the candidate's ancestors. These purification rites are obligatory at least once a year, if not every month at the time of the new moon (Eliade 1964: 116).

22. (p. 133) The Tungus in their initiation ceremony use two poles, called turo. A turo is described as a tree "the large branches of which have been cut off, but whose crowns are preserved" (Eliade 1964:111).

23. (p. 135) In the Tungus initiation ceremony, the neophyte and his teacher sit at the foot of the turo (ceremonial pole) and the teacher calls the spirits one by one, and sends them to

the candidate. When the spirits enter, the elders examine the candidate, who must convince them that he has really received the spirit (Eliade 1964:112).

24. (p. 135) The Altaic tribes practice a ceremony lasting two or three evenings in which the head and bones of a horse are offered to God. It is a long and complex ceremony, very rich and dramatic in its enactment. After killing the animal, the shaman symbolically mounts the animal's soul (as was done in the Kham-Magar ceremony) and describes with great beauty his ascent to heaven to the very throne of God, as he climbs step by step the ceremonial tree which has been erected for the purpose (Czaplicka 1914:298-303).
25. (p. 135) The Samoyed shaman of Siberia ties a handkerchief over his eyes "so that he can penetrate into the spirit world by his own inner sight" (Czaplicka 1914:203).
26. (p. 135) After the Tungus performance of summoning the spirits, it is said that the new shaman climbs to the upper beam of the turo and remains there for some time (Eliade 1964:112). Among the Buryat, the "father shaman" ascends to the top of the tree first, and is followed by the candidate (Eliade 1964:119).
27. (p. 135) The Altaic shaman enjoys a similar clairvoyance. On one of his celestial journeys he is described as halting in the third heaven where he "gives information concerning the coming weather, the epidemics, and misfortunes that threaten" (Eliade 1964:195.196).
28. (p. 137) Jochelson relates that he once bought a costume from a shaman after much help and persuasion on the part of the chief. The shaman cried because he had been deprived of what he saw as the main source of his shamanistic power (Jochelson 1905:162-5). Eliade relates that among the Birartchen, the costume is not allowed to leave the clan, primarily because it must not be worn by anyone who cannot control the spirits, for the result would be trouble for the whole community (Eliade 1964:147).
29. (p. 137) Casanowicz notes that "the shaman dons a special coat made of cloth or bearskin, hung with pieces of iron--rattles, rings, and representations of animals" (1924:424). The Altaic costume resembles an owl. On the back of the costume are sewn animal pelts and two copper disks. The Yakut costume imitates a complete bird skeleton in iron, and includes iron disks representing the sun as well as lunar crescents. The Buryat costume includes a coat upon which the figures of snakes, and game skins are fastened. In Western Siberia, the skins of tutelary animals are fastened to the headgear. (Eliade 1964: 149-157).

30. (p. 139) The syārgwā is the tree from which the first shaman, Puran Tsan was born.
31. (p. 139) The kucar is a dried wild root which hangs from a chain around the shaman's neck. There are differences of opinion among my informants as to its function. Some claim that the shaman, by sinking his teeth into it, keeps evil spirits from entering his body while in a trance. Others claim that it has slight hallucinatory properties, and it causes the shaman to experience a "tingling sensation" as he soars through the cool breezes of the sky. All agree, however, on the fact that the shaman doesn't actually eat the root, but only sinks his teeth into it.
32. (p. 140) This ceremony has element in it which resemble an Altaic custom referred to as "animating the drum". Eliade gives the following details: "When the Altaic shaman sprinkles the drum with beer, the shell of the drum 'comes to life' and, through the shaman, relates how the tree of which it was part grew in the forest, how it was cut, brought to the village, and so on. The shaman then sprinkles the skin of the drum and, 'coming to life' it too narrates its past. Through the shaman's voice, the animal whose skin has been used for the drum tells of its birth, its parents, its childhood, and its whole life to the moment when it was brought down by the hunter" (1964:170).
33. (p. 141) The skin of the sahr (Nep. ghoral) is commonly used for drumskins in in the Himalayan region. For example, the Tamang use the ghoral skin on their two-sided drums (Höfer 1974:170), and the Chantel use it on their one-sided drums (Michl 1974:228).
34. (p. 141) The Siberian drum, too, is circular to oval in shape, covered on one side, and appears to be the forerunner of the Kham-Magar drum in several respects. A stick crossing the inside of the drum serves as a handle. Among some tribes, rattles and bits of tinkling metal are attached inside to produce a noise resembling the clattering rings of the Kham-Magar drum. The skin of the drum is in some places the roebuck, in others the reindeer or elk (Czaplicka 1914:207-215).
35. (p. 142) Eliade notes that in Siberia "even the choice of the wood from which the shaman will make the shell of his drum depends entirely on the spirits". For example, among the Altaians, "the spirits themselves tell the shaman of the forest and the exact spot where the tree grows, and he sends his assistants to find it". In some places sacrifices are offered to the tree by daubing it with blood and vodka (1964:169,170). Among the Buryat, nine 'sons' or assistants are chosen by the 'father shaman', and under his direction they cut the trees for the initiation ceremony (Czaplicka 1914:187).

36. (p. 142) The Altaic shaman, before his ecstatic journey to the beyond, invokes the spirits, bidding them to enter his drum. As they appear, they say, "I am here!", and the shaman moves his drum as if he were catching the spirit (Czaplicka 1914:299).
37. (p. 142) Tibetan Bon sorcerers practice drum divination in determining the cause of illness. The drum is marked with intersecting lines, and the sections formed are marked for information regarding causes, prognosis, etc. Wheat or barley grains are then made to dance on the surface of the drum, and their final resting point determines the answer (Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956:457-460).
38. (p. 142) The Tungus shaman, as he journeys through the sky in a trance is said to ward off the arrows of rival shamans with his drum (Eliade 1964:240). The Yukaghir of Siberia speak of fights between rival shamans in which an invisible war is carried on between them by means of their spirits. The most common strategies are shooting at one another with invisible arrows, or eating one another (Jochelson 1924:212-215).
39. (p. 142) The Buryat of the Baikal region have, for the most part, abandoned the drum and replaced it with a wooden stave, the description of which is similar to that of the Kham-Magar shaman. It is about 30 inches long with a horse head carved at the top of it and horse hooves carved at the lower end. Little bells and conical shaped weights are tied to the stave, along with colored ribbons and strips of ermine and squirrel fur. Significantly, they refer to the stick as their "horse", the animal whose skin covers their drums. The sticks are "animated", after which they are said to turn into real horses (Czaplicka 1914:188,224-5).
40. (p. 143) Eliade describes the shamanic concept of a soul as a "precarious psychic unit inclined to forsake the body and is an easy prey for demons and sorcerers" (1964:182).
41. (p. 143) Eliade shows that the shaman is not a priest, and that he sacrifices in some ceremonies "only because it is his task to conduct the animal's soul on its celestial journey, and not because his function is that of a sacrificial priest" (1964:182).
42. (p. 143) The concept of three souls is common in Siberia. The Buryat distinguish three souls, the first of which is an invisible copy of the skeleton. The second resides in the blood and vital organs, and when leaving the body it assumes the shape of a wasp or bee. The third is like a ghost which appears to others after the person's death (Krader 1967:109).
43. (p. 143) Among the Chukchee (as well as among the Buryat), one of the three souls assumes the shape of a beetle which is then

caught and re-introduced into the patient through the mouth (Bogoraz 1904).

44. (p. 144) The concept of spirits of the dead troubling living persons is common in many parts of Asia--North and South. But actual "possession" by these spirits is allegedly restricted to the traditions of South Asia and India. In the Indian tradition, the medium or sorcerer induces the troubling spirit to possess his client and reveal the cause of his anger and prescribe how he should be appeased. Apparently, (according to Höfer) this type of "induced" possession has not been reported among other indigenous ethnic groups of the Himalayas, such as the Gurung, Magar, Limbu, Rai, Lepcha, etc. (Höfer 1974:159-165). (See also Höfer and Shrestha 1972).

45. (p. 144) Measures for the prevention of the soul's return are common in Siberia as well. In some places the funeral party takes another road back to the village to confuse the dead man. In others, the man's sled or cart is burned at the cemetery to prevent him from leaving (Eliade 1964:207). Czaplicka quotes Mordvinoff as saying (concerning the Tungus), "As they return from the funeral ceremony, the relatives try to obliterate the tracks they have made in the snow, or else cut down trees so that they fall across the way, in order to prevent the return of the dead" (Czaplicka 1914:155,156). The custom of guiding the soul from the village by means of a white cloth can be found among the Bhotias of Taklakot or Purang. They too call the cloth a "way cloth" (Sherring 1906:123, 124).

46. (p. 144) This practice of the Kham-Magars is almost identical to a practice of the non-Buddhist Bhotias in and around Taklakot or Purang (in Tibet near the extreme northwest corner of Nepal). For the final death ceremony, a yak (often replaced by a sheep or goat) which represents the deceased and is of the same sex, is dressed up with the clothes of the deceased and carefully fed by the relatives. An old man well versed in the lore of the otherworld (corresponding to the Kham-Magar seer) instructs the spirit of the deceased as to the paths it should follow, and the dangers it should avoid in reaching its destination. On the fourth (last) day of the ceremony, the son-in-law or sister's son of the deceased leads the animal to a distant spot where it is killed and eaten by low-caste Bhotias (Sherring 1906:123-131). In Siberia, the funerary banquet is very elaborate and employs the shaman in escorting the soul of the dead to the underworld--a practice which has undergone extensive modification, and is only a symbolic gesture in the Kham-Magar tradition.

47. (p. 145) Shirokogoroff observed similar practices among the Manchu of Siberia. At the beginning of a seance, after a particular spirit has entered the shaman, he falls to the floor. His assistants ask him questions and he answers.

Eliade interprets this particular activity as a means of demonstrating that the shaman is already in the nether regions (Eliade 1964:241).

48. (p. 146) The practice of "entering into enlightenment" closely resembles the "preliminary seance" of the Buryat in which the shaman determines whether his patient's soul has simply strayed away, or whether it has been stolen and is captive in the underworld. The preliminary seance consists of searching for the patient's soul in the area near the village, where, if found, its re-installation is easy. If it cannot be found near the village, it is assumed that it has been stolen and taken captive, in which case sacrifices and a trip to the underworld are necessary (Eliade 1964:218). Healing among the Yenisei Ostyak requires two ecstatic journeys. The first is more of a rapid survey, and it is during the second, which ends in a trance, that the shaman enters deep into the beyond (Eliade 1964:223). Among the Tungus of Manchuria the preliminary seance is referred to as a "little shamanizing" and is conducted to determine if the soul is imprisoned in the underworld (Eliade 1964:240).

49. (p. 146) The ritual journeys of the Thulung Rai also employ real geographic names. The journeys, however, are not ecstatic and can be performed by a layman with sufficient knowledge of the chants (Allen 1974:6-11). The Tungus shaman of Manchuria, when making a mystical journey to the other-world, reaches a mountain pass in the northwest which he descends into the underworld. He meets spirits and other shamans, and wards off their arrows with his drum. He sings of all the difficulties of his journey, so that the audience can follow him step by step. After going through a narrow hole and crossing three streams, he comes to the infernal regions. He finds the patient's soul and after negotiations with the spirits he brings it back to the patient (Eliade 1964:240).

50. (p. 147) Among certain Ostyak peoples, the shaman, after returning from his ecstatic journey prophesies the future for each person in the gathering (Eliade 1964:226).

51. (p. 148) A similar technique is found among the Ostyak-Vasyugan. The shaman, under certain circumstances, sends one of his helping spirits to the underworld to find the patient's soul. When he finds the thief, he suddenly produces from his breast a spirit in the shape of a bear; the thief is frightened and lets the patient's soul escape (Eliade 1964:221).

52. (p. 150) Illness caused by the intrusion of a magical object into the body seems to be related more to a South Asian complex (Eliade 1964:215). "Hunter godlings" have been reported in the tradition of the Southern Magars as well, but their descriptions are somewhat different. They do, however,

use dogs in the chase, and they can cause human illness; though, apparently not by means of magical arrows (Hitchcock 1966:28,29)

53. (p. 150) Eliade notes that the people of North Asia conceive of the otherworld as an inverted image of this world. Thus, when it is day on earth, it is night there, and so on. Objects offered on the grave for the use of the dead are turned upside down (Eliade 1964:205). Among the non-Buddhist Bhotias of Purang, a person at death is placed in a white cotton bag. The bag is sewn with thread spun contrary to the usual way. In the funeral ceremony, the women who carry the "way cloth" walk with their headgear turned inside out (Sherring 1906:123). The Kham-Magars, too, have other customs which suggest the inverted image of the otherworld. In a ceremony for dealing with the spirits which cause accidental death, two drums are used--one with a high pitch and the other with a low pitch. The high pitched drum is referred to as the male, and the low pitched one as the female--the inverse of this world. When the shaman goes into ecstasy and reaches the spiritual plane, he refers to his equipment with the negative prefix ma-. His headdress is not-a-headdress, his animal pelts not-animal pelts, his drum not-a-drum, and so on.
54. (p. 155) Certain elements in the story of Puran Tsan bear resemblance to accounts of Padma-Sambhava, the famous guru who introduced Lamaism into Tibet. His name means 'The Lotus Self-Born', a designation not altogether inappropriate for Puran Tsan as well. Like Puran Tsan, Padma-Sambhava is often portrayed with two wives. He was a native of Udyana, a country northwest of Kashmir famous for its wizards and exorcists, and was called into Tibet by the reigning monarch of that time. He was noted for his proficiency in black art and magic, and upon entering Tibet he proceeded to vanquish all the Bon devils by means of his magic. They cried to him for mercy, and he allowed them to remain on the condition that they should be subject to his power. They in turn were to be properly fed and propitiated. Padma-Sambhava's reputation, like that of Puran Tsan, was slurred by evil accusations in official quarters. History states that "the Ponist ministers 'poisoned' the ears of the king in connection with his miracles. Consequently the king sent Padma-Sambhava back to India" (Bell 1931:29-46; Sherring 1906:81).

According to Kham-Magar mythology, Puran Tsan entered the "Blind Country" at a time when all religious conventions were in terms of nine. He defeated the nine devils or evil spirits, and introduced social changes in favor of economy--nine assistants were reduced to one, nine deaf-mutes (to dance before Sepā Serong) were reduced to one, and nine sacrificial animals were reduced to one. Mythology claims that the shaman descendants of Puran Tsan are shamans of Pon, and belong to an enlightened order.

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The Press in Nepal (1951-74)

Lok Raj Baral.

It is really a difficult task when one tries to present the genesis, growth and the present style of functioning of the Press in Nepal. These aspects get blurred, as does its role in the society as a whole. An inquiry into the plight of the Press would also mean an inquiry into the level of intellectual development, literacy growth, communicational advancement, and above all, the attitudinal change of the people at large. Moreover, the task has been further complicated by the undifferentiated role of Private papers and government-sponsored papers. At one end of the spectrum, there are two largely circulated dailies owned by the government; at the other end, there is a multiplicity of papers belonging to individuals. They are relatively colourless, personalityless and above all, to a large extent, valueless. The former thrive on the public treasury, enhance the values of the system, and do the work of Gazette or notifications, the latter aptly do the same but with a slight difference. The question of their survival is also greatly determined by governmental financial help; so they are dependent on its attitude towards them. However, there are some dailies and weeklies that tend to be independent and survive the financial pressure of the government. In short, some of these papers belonging to the second and third categories are in a way "born in idealism and live in frustration". Sometimes they die and sometimes survive through blood donations.

The present article would, therefore, make an attempt to show this "sad plight" in its entirety. By way of caution, it can be stated that it is not a wholly empirically based-study. Nonetheless, it would show the history of the Press, its linkage with past politics in order to explain its stagnant behaviour over the years. The present paper would also concentrate, however briefly, on the orientation towards the present Panchayat System as well as interaction between the government and the Press.

Historical Overview

It has been aptly remarked that "each nation that enters the cycle of modernization must at some point break through in three fields: Political and Social reform, language and journalism"¹. Unfortunately Nepal did not possess these. Nor did she undergo the process of colonization. She was lucky in missing it; but she also failed to bring about a social renaissance towards which other colonized countries were striving. In India, for instance, social, religious and literary renaissance was followed by political awakening encompassing many facets of Indian life. But, Nepal, quite surprisingly, remained unaffected by these socio-political abrasions. In addition to it, these colonized countries were

being aroused, ironically enough, by the importation of foreign ideas or influences through which the native-educated intellectuals could detect a common enemy-colonialism-which, in return, had been introducing attendants of modern liberal political institutions. In short, it was a colonial blessing in disguise.

It would be misleading if one sought to find a parallelism between the process of modernization in India or elsewhere where a similar situation existed, and the break-through in Nepal's development. However, it is interesting to note that the first hand-operating Printing Press, (i.e. Giddhe Press) popularly known as Vulture Press of 1851, was also a part of the influence of the western world².

Followed by a spate of developments in the direction of introducing press activities in Nepal, the first electrical press was installed in 1912. In 1893, the Pashupati Press - the first private venture - started operating, and "by the end of 1950 there were less than ten public presses" with minimum Press business³. Despite such antecedents of the printing press in Nepal, no independent papers or journals, with the exception of a few literary magazines, could play a crucial role in disseminating political consciousness in the country. This was mainly to be attributed to the uncongenial political climate of those years and whatever presses were operating were instrumental in promoting the value - systems of the Ranas and their lackeys. The political system was also highly stratified along caste and status lines, confining all political activities to the harem of the Ranas. It could be seen that the one hundred years history of the Nepali Press was basically geared to this political process which was characterized by unquestionable loyalties, servitude and identification with the family rule. Upper-caste and class-attitude confined the role of the Press to court-politics. And the agents were generally those who showed their allegiance to the established authority. They were passive, alienated and 'atomized' individuals who were "subjugated" to the rulers, manifesting the sentiment that the government was something that was there by a specially stratified race- the Ranas.

The political culture that developed during the pre-Rana period was further crystallized under the Ranas. And the "subject culture", being basically oriented towards the "powers that be", continued fundamentally unchanged till the 1950 revolution. As the development of healthy journalism was not possible without political consciousness, the Press became a non-entity in Nepali socio-political life. Started in 1858, the first official paper- the Gorkhapatra- also helped promote the Rana culture. However, a few nationals living in India "where politics and social awakening were at their high watermark, concerned themselves with Nepalese affairs: Politics, Social Progress, languages, culture, and above all political change"⁴. They gave factual accounts of the conditions obtaining in the contemporary Nepali society. Although many journals and magazines were coming out every now and then within

the country as well, they did not provide enough input for bringing about political awareness in Nepal. Many publishers of such journals were neither social reformers nor political dissentients, but they were primarily unconcerned persons insofar as the spread of critical views was concerned. From a journalistic point of view, this profession made little or no contribution whatever to the political change of 1950. But many young, enthusiastic elements working outside the country made serious bids for heralding a democratic era in Nepal. At last, the Rana system was overthrown in 1950 thereby giving way to the experimentation of modern liberal democratic values.

The post-1950 revolution period was significant in many respects. It was characterized by various kinds of innovations, euphoria, "extroversion" and above all a sudden transformation from what one Nepali scholar calls "the sleep of the middle ages" and the people found themselves "exposed to neon lights of an electronic age"⁵. In this hour of excitement, the people not only changed their political styles but also made innovations in various fields. In 1951, the first public-owned Nepali language daily, Awaz, was started. Later, many dailies and weeklies followed it but, as they were all one-man affairs, they gradually vanished from the scene.

The post-revolution period equally betrayed the fact that the Rana political system was buried at a single stroke, but not the political culture of the earlier period. The people also forgot that "they were too deeply embedded in a tradition for a smooth transition"⁶ to a democratic system. As democracy was a process to be promoted from all agencies of public opinion, the Press on its part failed to build a tradition of its own and its role also became, to a large degree, spurious as well as marginal. This state of affairs was further complicated by the steady rise in the number of papers - dailies and weeklies. In 1951, there were one daily and three weeklies, but as of 1960, the figure of dailies and weeklies registered so far rose to approximately 32 and 65 respectively. But this sudden rise in the registration of papers was more or less offset by their infant-mortality. By 1965, the number of dailies and weeklies published, however intermittently, rose to 65 and 101 respectively⁷.

The first Press Commission was also organized in 1958. The commission was assigned the task of investigating the development of the Press in Nepal following the 1950 revolution. It was also to study the economic and other kinds of difficulties faced by the Press. Later, it could be seen that the idea of the Press commission became a part of the new political style during the Fifties and Sixties. Various governments formed Press Commissions but often no tangible result was forthcoming. The period under study (i.e. 1951-60) was also one of strained relationships between the government and the Press not because the latter was under heavy pressure from the government but because it lacked sobriety or perhaps failed to comprehend the limits of its rhetoric. Thus, on

several occasions, many papers were brought to task, as some of them were allegedly bent on jolting the public figures and institutions including the Monarchy. But this period was characterized by a new style of political life or at least some sort of an "apprenticeship" in liberal democracy; so it was natural on their part to behave thus and such trends could have been amended had there been positive thinking in the direction of professionalization or institutionalization. On the contrary, the men in power did not seem to be interested in enhancing the prospects of the Press in Nepal. The modernizing elites brought to the fore by the 1950 revolution were also partly responsible for ignoring the fact that democracy minus a responsible Press would become redundant.

Established in 1952, the plight of the Nepal Journalist Association was miserable. Hit by internal cleavages and personalistic considerations, the N J A did not make any headway in ameliorating the difficulties of the Press-men. Despite these professional symptoms manifested in Nepali Press circles, some journalists did not fail to inaugurate agencies such as existed in other countries. Some editors created Sagarmatha News Agency with a view to supplying news to the papers at large. Later, yet another news agency, called Nepal Sambad Samiti (Nepal News Agency) was created but owing to internal conflicts among journalists, both of these could not flourish. Nevertheless, these two agencies became pace-setters in the sense that the new regime established after the royal take-over in 1960 organized a single news agency, Rastriya Sambad Samiti (RSS) under official Patronage.

The feuds raging among press circles in the post -- 1950 period were attributable, to a large degree, to the unbroken Political culture on the one hand, and the abrasion of liberal trends on the other. Most of the political actors in this period were not primarily oriented towards the new values. As a result, they could neither abandon the old authoritarian elements which were so overwhelmingly present in their behaviour, nor did they completely identify themselves with the process of political development. They were "marginal ambivalents" having shifting political loyalties. These contradictory political phenomena gave way to the establishment of personalistic parties and splinter-groups with alarming rapidity. These were created with the purpose of opening what Myrdal calls, though in a different context, "Career routes"⁸ to the Palace. This was patently observable when they strove to forge alliances from time to time with the motive of maximizing the king's favour. When the first parliamentary election was over in 1959, many of those who had suffered ignominious defeats predictably mobilized their resources to stigmatize the government on each and every count. The Press, as it was divided along group lines, joined the fray in promoting political tension or in disseminating misgivings.

All these were the products of tradition and history. Although the Press with "modern sensibilities" cannot remain indifferent to the country's politics, the Press in Nepal during this period of

"extroversion" did not develop its own professional standard. And this tendency was also more strikingly present in the political system brought about in consequence of the royal take-over in 1960.

The Press in the Post-take-over Period

King Mahendra's overthrow of the Parliamentary government, with the Nepali congress in power on 15 December 1960 and the restrictions imposed on freedom put the Press in an awkward situation, as was the case in other aspects of national life. The new situation also demanded conformism to some of the accepted principles of the system: royal leadership, Partylessness, class co-ordination and decentralization. The Panchayat system, as it embodied these principles, was to be promoted by all segments of Nepali society. But one contradictory trend set by the system was that the system allowed "political pluralism" to a certain degree while retaining the idea of a consensual society. It was further abetted by the explanation that the system was on an experimental basis and that with the passage of time Nepal would again revert to liberal democracy, abandoned in 1960.

Home Minister during the early phase of the new regime, Vishwa Bandhu Thapa was no less categorical when he said reassuringly that political parties would be revived, and the king had entrusted him to return to democracy as early as possible. For his part, king Mahendra, too, was on record on 13 April 1961 as saying that after five years or so, the people would have the option to choose the system which they preferred⁹. Although no associations or organizations other than the officially recognized ones were allowed to function, the Press enjoyed, to a limited extent, freedom. Since the very beginning, many papers obviously identified with the pre 1960 political orientations, provided enough room for enlarging conflicts whether the governmental elites liked it or not. Yet some newspapers which had no such orientations and were basically characterized by their freefloating political loyalties, suddenly adjusted their role to the changed political situation.

As it could be seen that most of the newspapers had supported the royal action of 1960 for what they called the "ushering in of democracy" in Nepal, they were also the intemperate critics with regard to the new Guidance Principles as well as other matters. But there was no dearth of papers that praised the government as much not because of satisfaction with its management of affairs as because of the involvement of the king in the political Process¹⁰. This kind of paradox became a continuous feature in the attitude of the Nepali Press up to date.

Controversial Press Act

Although newspapers in general behaved in conformity with the officially prescribed taboos, yet the government seemed to be sensitive to the reaction of the Press. In the beginning, repres-

sion of deviant newspapers was also immediate¹¹. In 1962 the government enacted the Rashtriya Sambad Samiti (RSS) Act whereby" no other news agency (save the government controlled RSS) shall be allowed to operate, collect and sell news in Nepal and about Nepal"¹². Prior to the organization of the RSS, there were two news agencies. This Act also made the RSS an integrated, independent body that would distribute news to papers.

The Press and Publication Act (Press Act) enforced in 1963 became controversial as well as determinant in harbouring misgivings between the Press and the Government. Its section 30 imposed several constraints on the Press. It stated:

His Majesty's Government may issue an order directing the suspension of any news, criticism or publication in case it is deemed reasonable to do so in the public interest. No appeal or complaint shall be entertained against such order¹³.

The Press Act vested absolute power in the government and virtually sounded the death-knell of some of the extrovert newspapers, leading to a long-drawn-out battle between them. Over the years the refractory Press scoffed at alleged undemocratic measures undertaken by the governments concerned and took up cudgels for the relaxation of the Press Act, arguing that it was as much equally necessary for the new system which had promised to be democratic and tolerant.

The strained relationship between the government and the Press continued to be accentuated. Many papers started publishing editorials and comments in aggressive tones, in resentment particularly at the "gradual disappearance of freedom" of the Press due to section 30 and its ramifications. Most of the papers expressed similar views on different occasions. Some of the typical ones may be worth mentioning. In this context, what was said by a local weekly would merit a full length quotation.

- (a) We do not have any new material on the basis of which we may write an editorial different from those which we have been writing every year since a decade ago on the occasion of Democracy Day. But the section 30 of the Press Act, which acts as a screen for all evils, notably the growing list of power, antipopular measures, corruption and so on, prevents us from expressing these views. We can only say that during the past 19 years we have been moving backward every year instead of making progress. A country which is lagging behind in socio-economic field cannot be said to have attained progress and stability in the political field¹⁴.

Realizing the strained relationship that had been existing between the Press and the government, the latter had tried to bring about a rapport, if belatedly, by forming a Press Advisory

council in October 1967. It was an official body designed to look into the Press affairs. Unfortunately, however, the council was too frequently reorganized by the ministers concerned, apparently guided by subjective considerations. Its membership was ordinarily composed of ex-officio members who were normally governmental nominees. The Nepal Journalist Association (N J A), operating in a moribund state, complained about the unhelpful attitude of the council. The N J A believed that the latter was alleged to have been working against the unity of journalists as a whole, by contriving dissension among them¹⁵. Not suprisingly, the Press had a much smaller role to play in the council. What mattered significantly was that it relentlessly aired their begrudging opinion against the section 30 of the Press Act and demanded its amendment. Furthermore, the deepening of misunderstanding between the government and the Press was coming to the surface owing to the code of conduct imposed on journalists. As the purpose of the code of conduct had been to bring journalists in line with the Principles of the Panchayat System, it was enforced without allegedly consulting the N J A¹⁶.

Meanwhile, in 1970, the Press heaved a sigh of relief when the flamboyant Home and Panchayat Minister Shailendra Kumar Upadhyay tried to prove his liberal bonafides by amending the Press Act of 1963. This measure was also a ministerial gesture aimed to mollify the hostile Press which was sympathetic to his proposition that the Panchayat System should be resilient enough to adapt to new situations. For this, Upadhyay was fighting a lone battle with the Pro-Status-quo elites - Tulsi Giri and his admirers.

The amended article of the Press Act incorporated the provision for appeal to guarantee judicial protection of the Press¹⁷. As a result, many newspapers, harassed under the previous article, were allowed to function. However, this euphoria was short-lived in the face of the increasing pressure of the Hawks within the administration.

The misunderstanding between the Press and the Government became, once again, transparent when it allowed the publication of papers but stopped the financial help to private newspapers. Curiously enough, on 22 July 1970, the Home and Panchayat Minister gave a detailed account in the National Panchayat regarding the financial assistance given to the Press by the government during 1969-70. In so doing, the obvious intention of the Minister was to demonstrate his impartiality towards the Press insofar as the distribution of financial assistance was concerned. For the distribution pattern showed no rational criteria for the dispensation of administrative justice¹⁸.

Multiplicity of Papers

During the early phase of the royal take-over, Home and National Guidance Minister, Vishwa Bandhu Thapa, had proposed to

publish a daily newspaper on a co-operative basis. This proposal was a warning that dissident papers would not get any kind of official help. Later, the Minister also warned that their failure to be useful to the regime would mean a close-down and, in as much as the king was the sole judge of whether the government was functioning well or not, no adverse criticism from any quarter would be tolerated¹⁹.

Such official statements were not only indications for mending the recalcitrant Press but also created disappointment in Press circles in general. The statements were also suspect as the proposition of the Minister was "absurd" and "fascist" enough to stifle democracy to which he himself had avowed messianic commitment. But by 1965, the government decided to publish yet another daily the Rising Nepal, thereby materializing its earlier commitment with a slight difference. Instead of a few well-regulated papers, the number of weeklies and dailies significantly increased over the years.

The chequered history and style of functioning of the press would be very much evident when a casual visitor would take a stroll in the centrally located area of New Road. The visitor would not only see newspapers in abundance but also would, perhaps, hurriedly draw an inference about national development. However, the visitor would not be misled by such abundance of papers. He would have only reminiscences of the press in Europe more than a century ago.

A decade before, the UNESCO publication mentioned 13 daily newspapers with 0.8 per cent distribution per 1,000 inhabitants²⁰. In 1974, the number of dailies and weeklies rose to 67, most of them being published from the capital²¹. A detailed study of the circulation of these papers and periodicals has not been conducted yet; it can be estimated nonetheless that not a single private newspaper can compete with the two government-sponsored dailies The Gorkhapatra (vernacular daily) and Rising Nepal (English daily). The Gorkhapatra as it has varied facets is the most popular paper. Its circulation figure exceeds 10,000 and it reaches a cross-section of society. As it is a singular mixture of governmental notifications and advertisements for employment (official and non-official), and other similar activities of daily life, it is a leading paper in Nepal. Its English counterpart Rising Nepal has a circulation of approximately 5,000 copies. Mostly foreigners and a small section of English-loving Nepali readers read this paper. The other dailies range in circulation from 200 to 1,000, while the corresponding figure for weeklies varies from 500 to 5,000²². The three weeklies Naya Sandesh, Matribhumi, and Samiksha top the list of weeklies in respect of circulation. The Naya-Sandesh seems to be popular because of its sensational news items, sex columns and other features of common interest. The Matribhumi Weekly, representing a section of political persuasion, reaches many people outside of Kathmandu valley. The Samiksha weekly too is a political paper but it has some distinction of its own. It

can also be estimated that these papers including a few others such as Rashtra Pukar Weekly, Arati Weekly, Pratidhwani Weekly, are apparently in a better position to survive the frequency of mortality.

One of the striking features of the Nepali Press is its cluster in the urban area of Kathmandu. Kathmandu has grown from a population of 121,019 in 1961 to 153,405 in 1971. And it is the only city with a population of over 100,000 (i.e. internationally recognized criterion for a city). However, no papers would cover the literate section of this population save the Gorkhapatra. The survey conducted by UNESCO has adopted a standard for evaluating the development of the mass media under which a country is classified as deficient in Press coverage if it produces less than ten copies of daily newspapers for every 100 inhabitants²³. But, if this standard is strictly followed, the number of copies per 100 of population is only four in Asia, one in Africa and eight in Latin America. In Asia, Japan alone reaches the UNESCO standard, having one of the 22 "highest newspaper saturations in the world"²⁴. Thus, if one would try to make a comparative study of the condition obtaining in the Press in Nepal, he would muse in amazement over the sad plight of the Press here. Even the high rate of literacy-growth does not enhance the prospect of newspaper-circulation. For it has been aptly substantiated by the dialogue with many of the students reading in higher classes, or those who have attained to different official posts, that many members of the emergent generation do not bother to read Nepali papers including the Gorkhapatra. It was amazing particularly when the author tried to substantiate this point by asking some questions regarding their reading habits. However, a negligible number of students, with their obvious political attitude, seem to be quite at home with some major developments within and without Nepal. The number of students at the higher level is an increasing phenomenon. In 1951, there were 250 higher-level students but the figure rose to 17,200 in 1971. This meant that the educational development was encompassing many other areas of national life. Although the rate of literacy growth alone does not inculcate the habit of reading newspapers or disseminating information in the remote corners of the country, yet it would be a positive factor in creating social consciousness.

As "education is both cause and effect of overall development"²⁵ it would have a far reaching consequence. But educational development in as much as it implies the growth of Journalism also, must be related to other areas of development. For the lack of communications and transportation would neither decentralize the developmental process nor would it disseminate information. Thus, the diffusion of the Press, or the circulation of news or views would be largely determined by physical factors. Perhaps this is one of the reasons, among many other prominent handicaps, why the Nepali Press barring a few papers, has not been able to cross the boundary of Kathmandu valley.

Polarization of Papers

The polarization of newspapers or periodicals has been greatly promoted either by the multiplicity of papers or by governmental miscalculation. The governmental decision to allow the publication of papers on the one hand and to withdraw, temporarily, financial assistance on the other, triggered off indignation on the part of these papers. It had been a commonplace that papers close to the administration used to get a handsome subsidy, while the deviant papers had a sense of deprivation, even though they too received assistance. But the situation did not stop there. The intervening period 1971-73, and even today, was characterized by a unique triangular conflict between the two sections of the Press and the Bista government. The power elites in those years were apparently bent on nicknaming a certain section of the press as "antina-nationalist", and the supporting section as "nationalist".

The mushrooming of papers registered from the middle of 1970 further heightened this trend. The government was also destined to play a crucial role in forging a coalition among the anti-government papers. It was interesting to note that the differences that stemmed from monetary considerations drove them to an edge of polarization along political or, to a certain degree, ideological lines.

The polarization along respective lines of thinking came to the surface following the announcement of the National Communication Service Plan in 1971. The Plan which incorporated the provision for an 11 - member Press Council consisting of a majority of journalists from Private Papers gave a fillip to the hostile Press²⁶. The new plan, which stipulated that the majority of the Press council members would be private journalists, appeared to modify the decision of the government in favour of the interest of the Press. Accordingly, the election to send four representatives to the proposed council was held on 18 January 1972 under the supervision of the NJA. That the government was not happy with the election outcome was betrayed by its cool response to it. A section of the so-called "nationalist" Press boycotted the election, presumably taking its cue from the official line which had nevertheless been deprecated by the "hostile" Press as an "under-hand and disguised" attempt of the government to have the election postponed²⁷.

As a corollary to this development, four representatives belonging to the "oppositional camp" were opposed by the pro-government Press interpreting the result as the victory of the "anti-nationalist" or "Pro-Party papers"²⁸. On the face of it, the election showed certain trends to be facts of political life, highlighting, in turn, inter-Press cleavages on the one hand and the government's motivation on the other²⁹.

Shortly thereafter, the government further deepened the crisis. Many opposition Papers lashed out at the government calling it a

"dark period in the history of Nepali journalism". Meanwhile, some members of the National Panchayat formed a "committee for the Protection of Press Freedom" and issued a statement to strongly "condemn the dictatorial and repressive policy followed by the government towards the Press"³⁰. However, the Prime Minister sharply reacted to such allegations by calling them "wild and irresponsible" criticism being made by a section of the local Press. He also stated that the "Nepali Press has lost the confidence of people". As the government was facing widespread opposition within and without the National Panchayat, it adopted administrative measure to restrain it. On 2 September 1972, a "massive" rally was held at which the Prime Minister not only condemned his inveterate critics but also sounded the death-knell of the "oppositional" papers³¹. Moreover, the government amended the Provision of the Press Council as envisaged under the National Communication Service Plan, thereby depriving of membership four representatives elected earlier. Instead, the Journalist Association was also refashioned. In spite of these attempts, the division of the Press continued unabated. However by the beginning of 1974 and with the change of ministers, all papers seemed to have received financial assistance. But the deepening misunderstanding between them is not receding. This can be adduced by the recent conference of editors and publishers held in Kathmandu on 30 November 1974. Prior to the conference, the chairman of the NJA issued a statement criticizing it as yet another device for dividing the Press. The conference notwithstanding the negative attitude of the NJA, passed a resolution for setting up a "Royal Press Commission" to analyze problems bedevilling the Press in Nepal. Other resolutions passed by the conference were, among others, the amendment of the existing Press and Publication Act, the prompt withdrawal of cases against journalists whose actions were incompatible with the spirit of the Press Act, the release of arrested journalists and the impartial distribution of advertisements. Many senior journalists also stressed the need for Press freedom which "is the strongest guarantee of the development of the nation"³².

The conspicuous presence of the Minister of Communications was one of the striking features of the conference. It was obvious that the minister was anxious to maintain a neutral posture with regard to the inter-Press cleavages. The loss of faith in the impartiality of the government on the part of "anti-nationalist" papers was offset by the misgivings in the conformist papers³³. It was understandable that recently many papers, with obvious biased overtones of aggressive pro-establishment tendencies, became critical of the Rijal Government, particularly when the later subsidised papers without political consideration. Until recently, the government gives Rs 1,000 and Rs 7,00 to each daily and weekly respectively. But it is up to the government alone to decide the criterion for giving financial assistance. So, papers in themselves are generally "unenterprising" and "timid". Their aspiration, their attitude, and motivation is, thus, determined by the financial assistance provided to them.

Political Orientation of the Press

It is an uphill task to find a fixed, consistent political orientation in Nepal because of the continuous tradition of personalistic, individualistic behaviour by individual owners of newspapers and periodicals. An individual is the overall in-charge of an individual paper: he is responsible for what the paper writes. These have managed to survive not so much because of their independent sources of maintenance as because of their indiscreet sources. Nor are papers the independent ventures of the affluent industrial elites as is generally the case in other countries. The alleged monetary help from other external quarters also reflects their orientation, notwithstanding the code of conduct imposed on them.

Regarding financial assistance and encouragement, some criteria have been fixed by the government. There are some positive points such as widecoverage of news, independent coverage, timely editorials, articles and commentaries, loyalty to the Crown, the nation and the system, which would be taken into account for getting additional encouragement from the government. If certain papers violate these principles and present an opposite picture, they forfeit the assistance as well as extra monetary help.

There can be little doubt that political orientation of the Press in Nepal, characterized by the more ostentatious shifts in loyalty, is determined by what the government has up its sleeves. Taking all developments so far, we see that some dailies and weeklies, described in the preceding pages, with their overt political orientations in their respective political values, have been pursuing consistent policies towards the current system and the government. Their affiliation or identification with the anti-status quo Panchayat elites becomes pronounced when they strongly advocate the need for change within the Panchayat system. Ever since the fierce debate over status quo vs. change got under way they seemed to have sided with the reformists. Some other papers having been guided by fringe benefits, were seemingly highly confused, while the rest supported the status quoists³⁴.

The anti-status quo papers hold the view that the "goal of an exploitationless society cannot be established without political freedom". Among the dailies and weeklies, Nepal Times, Nabin Khabar, The Motherland, The Commoner, Dainik Nepal, Samaj, Swatantra Samachar, Samikshya, Rashtra Pukar, Matribhumi, Naya Sandesh and Nepal Bhasha Patrika and a few other seem to be critical of the present sterile political and economic conditions. Furthermore, some weeklies and dailies which were considered to be conformist papers, have also been airing their views in favour of change, but they want to make a distinction between the reform and the pro-Party orientation³⁵. The former (reformists) in their opinion, are in tune with the expression of the king who stated that there was enough scope for change in the Panchayat system but the change would in no case impair the fundamentals of the system.

By 1973, three major lines of thought are seen in editorials on the Panchayat system. Some papers -, Naya Samaj, Gorkhapatra and a host of others highlighted the contributions made by King Mahendra through the Partyless Panchayat system, maintaining that the Party system was incompatible and irrelevant. Some others, on the other hand, pledged full allegiance to the Panchayat system but simultaneously stressed its shortcomings in various fields. Some others also blamed authorities occupying high positions for having indulged in conspiracies and added that the objective of the Panchayat system could not be attained only by praising it, or by condemning as "antinationalists" those who failed to do so. Yet another line of thought was evident when a paper stated that "a system which had proved suitable for the nation at one time or in one situation may not prove suitable in another"³⁶.

These lines of approach to the present Panchayat system do not contain much substance after the declaration of the king on 16 December 1974 that he was going to constitute a Constitution Reform Commission, "in order to make the Panchas more active in accordance with the wishes of the people"³⁷. Reacting to the decision of the king, many dailies and weeklies expressed happiness, over timely reforms to be introduced in the system. Nevertheless, they seem to have expressed such opinions in conformity with their former line of thinking. One local daily exhorted the people to express independent opinions from their respective stations in life and added that three things - Independence of the nation, the king's supremacy, and the democratic aspirations of the people - should be taken into account while reforming the constitution. In contrast to this line, another daily termed the king's decision as a "bold speech" but criticized others who want a drastic change within the system³⁸. Despite these differences in their approach to the proposed move of the king, the Press in general seems to have formed a consensus in this regard. And perhaps, this might also help to bury the political differences so far existing between them.

CONCLUSION

The history of the Press in Nepal actually begins with the revolution of 1950, even though some humble start was made before. Nepal had varied experiences of Political Pluralism as a consequence of the ushering-in of democracy, the sort of thing seen in other liberal democratic countries. In short, the ten years period was the period of "rising aspirations" when institutions were created, papers published, and excessive enthusiasm shown by the people belonging to various walks of life. As the people had no previous 'apprenticeship' in this kind of political life, it was not unnatural on their part to innovate institutions without, however, disciplining their newly aroused enthusiasm and behaviour in accordance with new values. This short political experience in liberal values had also an impact on the post - 1960 period, even though the new situation demanded some sort of conformism to the established political order, failing however to limit plural

thoughts, to a certain degree, in Nepal. Therefore, the Press also enjoyed freedom within the boundary drawn by the system.

In the light of our analyses discussed earlier, a few observations can be advanced regarding the condition of the Press in Nepal. First, journalism in Nepal, either in the public or Private sector, has not yet shown positive symptoms of development, much less professionalization and specialization. But, during this short period, a few educated young men have undergone training in this field, although their knowledge seems to be under constraint because of the conditions around them. Moreover, paper producing is a hobby, a part-time job, a source of livelihood for some individuals and not a "full-time vocation to be followed in its own right".

Second, the larger the number of papers, the greater would be the intensity of the problems of the press. Papers are published by individuals who have no adequate resources to run them. Nor do they have professional zeal or a sense of mission. The paper-explosion very much helps to vitiate the climate, in the sense that these papers lack a common minimum professional standard, and hence fall easy prey to subjectivities and sensitivities. The government is equally responsible for creating such a situation of conflict, because it is the government that heightens inter-press differences by aligning itself with either one or the other section of the Press. This role has been facilitated by the resources it commands. In brief, it can be maintained, quite convincingly, that the mushrooming of papers is, in large measure, a governmental product for achieving short-term personal objectives, without much care for the system or the Press.

Third, in no country where political pluralism (in our context to a limited sense) is allowed to function, Papers are not ordinarily published or owned by the government. The publication of the two largest dailies (Gorkhapatra and Rising Nepal) with huge resources and relatively well-trained staff for their maintenance can only lead to the decline of the Press in the private sector. No other papers can match them in form and content; nor can they separate themselves from the hegemony of these government-sponsored papers. Moreover, the only news agency - RSS- has also made their condition miserable, for all papers are dependent upon the RSS, with the concomitant effects of uniformity of news in all papers. As a consequence, people can not find any difference between the news items in the private and in the official dailies.

Finally, there has been a considerable decrease in the intensity and volume of principled dissent. Perhaps this is the main reason why the political role of the Press - in forcing the government to take Press opinion into account while making decisions - is becoming negligible. Sometimes, mostly out of desperation, the opinion of the Press is characterized by what Lerner calls, though in a different context, "aggression" or "regression". Fed by sensationalism, personalism, and make-believe rumours, the Press

also lacks credibility: this can be attributed to many factors-economic, politico-cultural and circumstantial. As a paper is the domain of an individual, its credibility would be considerably determined by individual activities.

It is interesting to know that Kathmandu-based political, bureaucratic, and other elites perhaps spend sleepless nights when they fail to read foreign papers, especially Indian Papers, in the evening, but nobody seems to have given serious consideration to improving the lot of the Press in Nepal. So the Press has not been able to make headway in the right perspective. Judging by the way the "fourth estate of democracy" has been ignored in Nepali society, it would not be out of place to stress the need for royal intervention in order to clean up the mess. This task is simplified by the patent fact that the Press, including the widest section of Nepali society, looks upon the king as the only problem-solver, because monarchy enjoys consensus, and commands respect. A drastic but judicious planning for improving the present malady of the Press is perhaps the demand of the hour.

FOOTNOTES

1. Herbert Passin, "Writer and Journalism in the Transitional Society" in Lucian W. Pye ed., Communications And Political Development (Princeton University Press, 1963), p. 82.
2. Grishma Bahadur Devkota, Nepal Ko Chhapakhana Ra Patra Patrikako Itihas (History of the Printing Press and Papers of Nepal) Kathmandu, 1967).
3. Kamal P. Malla, "The Intellectual in Nepalese Society" in Pashupati Shumsher and Kamal P. Malla eds; Nepal In Perspective (CEDA, Kathmandu, 1973) p. 270.
4. See Yugeshwar Prasad Verma, The English Language Press in Nepal, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Tribhuvan University, 1973, p. 18.
5. Malla, n. 3, p. 277.
6. L.S. Baral "Nepal's Apprenticeship in Democracy 1951-1960", India quarterly (New Delhi), Vol. 27 July-September 1971, p. 185.
7. Devkota, n. 2, p. 42.
8. Gunnar Myrdal, The Challenge of World Poverty (Penguin, London, 1971), p. 469.
9. Proclamations, speeches and Messages (HMG, 1967) p. 19.
10. See Swatantra Samachar and Halkhabar, 7 and 8 March 1961.

11. Within a short span of time, the government banned Kalpna, Dainik Nepal, Philingo, Samaj, Samiksha, Halkhabar, Swantantra Samachar and arrested editors of some of these and other papers. For details see Nepal Press Digest (Kathmandu), 1961-62.
12. Nepal Gazette, 29 Magh 2019 (1963).
13. Nepal Gazette, Vol. 12, 12 January 1963.
14. Samiksha Weekly, 19 February 1970.
15. The Motherland, 7 December 1968.
16. Gorkhapatra, 3 December 1968.
17. Nepal Gazette, Vol 20 (Supplementary no 18 (A), 26 August 1970) See also Nepal Ain Sangraha Purak Khanda 2027 (1970) p. 85-89.

The amendment in the section 30 of the Press Act was as follows: In case it is decided to impose a ban on any news report, criticism or publication, which disturbs the law-and-order situation or makes an attempt or instigates others to do so, or which commits any of the offenses mentioned in subsection of section 5 of the Act with the motive of undermining the Partyless Democratic Panchayat System which has been established according to the constitution of Nepal, His Majesty's Government may issue an order imposing a ban on such news report, criticism or other publication. But before doing so, His Majesty's Government shall consult the Press Council. In case it is not possible to hold such consultations before imposing the ban, His Majesty's Government shall do so within 7 days thereafter. The person aggrieved by the imposition of such a ban may file an appeal to the supreme court within 35 days.

18. According to the records maintained by the Department of Information, the number of daily newspapers published in Nepal before the amendment of the Press Act in 1970 was 21, while that of periodicals was 31. Of these, 16 dailies and 20 periodicals got financial assistance from the government. The breakdown of the assistance was as follows:

Dailies: Naya Samaj (21,000), Samaj (21,000), Swatantra Samachar (21,000), New Herald (18,000), The Motherland (17,000), Hamrodes (16,000), The Commoner (12,000), Dainik Nepal (11,000), Nepal Samachar (10,000), Nepal Bhasha Patrika (9,000), Naya Nepal (8,000), Samaya (8,000) and Nepal Times (6,000)

Weeklies: Dhanusha (7,200), Samiksha (7,200), Arati (7,800), Jagrit (6,000), Naya Sandesh (5,400), Pratidhwani (4,700), Himal Chuli (1,200), Seema (1,000), Matribhumi (5,400) and Nepal Sandesh (Hindi, Patna) (5,400).

19. Nepal Press Digest, Vol. 5 No. 5 1961, pp 2-3.
20. Ibid., No 4, p.6.
21. Statistics of Illiteracy (World Congress on Illiteracy, Teheran, 1965) quoted in E. Lloyd Sommerlad, The Press in Developing Countries (Atma Ram and Sons, Delhi, 1966), p. 52.
22. Figure supplied by the Department of Publicity, His Majesty's Government, 1974.
23. This is the tentative estimate of Publicity Department.
24. See n. 21, p. 1
25. Ibid.
26. Harka Gurung, Graduates in Nepal (National Planning Commission), Kathmandu, 1972.
27. The 11- member Press Council provided for an ex-judge of the supreme court, the chairman of the Nepal Journalist Association as the exofficio member secretary, Directory of the Publicity Department, one editor either from the Gorkhapatra or Rising Nepal, The General Manager of the RSS as an ex-officio member, four elected representatives of Journalists and two members to be nominated by the nine members mentioned above. See Rashtriya Sanchar Yo-Jana 2028 (1971) p. 51.53.
28. The Motherland, 20 January, Dainik Nepal 17 January, and Nabin Khabar, 20 January 1972.
29. The four elected representatives were Manindra Raj Shrestha (The Motherland), Chandra Lal Jha (Nepal Times), Mukunda Biyogi (Matribhumi) and Vishwa Nath Luitel (Samaj). Gorkhapatra, 19 January 1972.
30. Author's interview with some editors belonging to the "nationalist" camp corroborated the point that the inter-Press conflict was one of political values. The present Chairman of the NJA, Gorkarna Dev Pandey, also told the author that in a partyless system there should be no free play of party-oriented views or activities. For countering that kind of trend, many papers also got financial assistance in that period.
31. Nepal Times 16 and Gorkhapatra, 17 July 1972.
32. Prime Minister, Kirti Nidhi Bista's public speech on 2 September 1972.
33. Rising Nepal, Nepal Times and Samaj, 1 December 1974.

34. The Chairman of the NJA, Gorkarna Dev Pandey was critical of the presence of the Minister of Communication, Rodha Prasad Ghimire, at the conference.
35. See Nepal Press Digest, Vol. 14, No 22, 1970, pp. 257. For specific articles see also Matribhimi, Matribhumi Weekly, 2 June and Nepal Times, 5 June 1970.
36. Author's interview with some editors substantiated this view.
37. See in detail Gorkhapatra, Naya Samaj, Dainik Nepal, Rashtra Pukar (13 December) and Nepal Bhasha Patrika 13-17 December 1973.
38. Nepal Times, Naya Samaj, Dainik Nepal, Samaj, The Motherland and a number of others 17 December 1974.

A Brief Survey of Nepal's Trade With British India During the Latter Half of the Nineteenth Century

Krishna Kant Adhikari

Due to the peculiar geographical position of the country, the trade of Nepal was confined to India and Tibet, and a few articles passed between Nepal and China via Tibet. The British Indian records of the period under study cast more light on the trade relations between India and Nepal. But there existed no registered trade between the two countries up to 1875, as will be noticed presently. For this reason the volume of the entire annual trade of Nepal with British India and vice versa can not be given. In this brief survey, the discussion is confined mainly to the export and import goods, the duties levied on such goods, and other allied matters relating to trade. Here, I have not tried to propose or to dispose; I have tried only to expose.

For the better understanding of the then existing trade between British India and Nepal, it seems proper to divide the trade traffic into three main channels or sectors. These channels were: trade passing between 1) Oudh and the North Western Provinces and Western Nepal, 2) trade passing between the British Indian districts of Champaran, Mazaffapur, Darbhanga, Bhagalpur and Purnia (all in Bihar) and adjoining Nepalese districts; and finally, 3) trade passing between the British Indian district of Darjeeling and the Nepalese district of Ilam (on the border of Darjeeling).

1. The trade between the North-West Provinces and Oudh and Nepal was the subject of enquiry only in 1876, at the initiative of the then British Resident in Nepal, Charles Girdlestone. Accordingly, reports regarding the then-existing trade between Oudh and Nepal were elicited from the Deputy Commissioners of the districts of Kheri, Bahraich and Gonda, along with the reports of the Conservator of the Forest Department of Oudh and the Superintendent of Excise and Stamps of Oudh¹. In the Annual Report of the Administration of the Provinces of Oudh for the year 1872-73, it was stated that there was not much trade with Nepal². At the same time it was reported that the figures of the external trade of Oudh could not be considered as accurate due to the multiplicity of trade routes. However, the trade traffic seems to have gradually increased after 1872-73. Not only timber, but also rice and paddy, and metal manufactures were exported in considerable quantities to Oudh and the North Western Provinces from Nepal. Immediately after the death of Jang Bahadur, one statement of the trade traffic passing between Nepal and the North Western Provinces, Oudh included, showed that British India imported goods valued at Rs. 35,22,280 from Nepal, and exported goods amounting to Rs. 17,64,752 to Nepal³. This was in the year 1877-78. This is the only statement which stressed the entire annual trade passing between Nepal and the North-Western Provinces and Oudh immediately after Jang Bahadur's prime-ministership. The above-cited trade traffic gives

also some idea of the trade passing through this channel during Jang Bahadur's time. Something may be said regarding the nature of the trade, trade routes and duties levied in various places on the goods passing between the main trading centres, in this direction.

The main places of trade in British India in the North Western Provinces and Oudh from where trade was carried on with the neighbouring Nepalese districts were: Kumaon, Barailly, Kheri, Bahraich, Gonda, Basti and Gorakhpur. The Nepalese districts near these places were Doti and Silgarhi, and various places in the Western Tarai region, which included Banke, Bardia, Butwal and the district of Deokhur. A number of routes existed between the border districts from where trade was carried on. These routes were both by land and water. The most important market-places on the Nepalese side near Kumaon were: Burmadeo, Jhulaghat, Gurjiaghat, Darchula and Bondi⁴. Among these, Burmadeo was the most important. The traffic was carried on across the river Sarada in small boats. On all the routes, tax-collectors and guards were stationed. From these places, goods were carried on to Doti by coolies. The routes for the trade between Bareilly and the Western Tarai of Nepal were Doknabagh, Ghusrighat, Belauri, Nanda, Simari, Doti and Pooryna⁵. Pilbheet, Madho Tanda and Pooranpur were the main places in Bareilly district from where trade passed between the above quoted Nepalese routes and Bareilly. On the Nepal side, there were customs-houses in most of the places. Doti and Poornya were the major places through which considerable timber traffic passed. The trade between Kheri district in India, and the Western Terai of Nepal, was conducted via Satna and Chandighat, Puchperwa, Kakrolighat and Ramnagarghat⁶. The most important market-place on the Nepalese side was Golamandi. The most important items of trade were salt, grain and tobacco. The trade between the Bahraich district in India, and the Western Tarai of Nepal was conducted via Katarniyaghat, Golaria and Bhagoura⁷. The important trading places on the Nepalese side, were Golamandi and Nepalganj (Banke). Both Golamandi and Nepalganj flourished as market-places under the patronage of Jang Bahadur. Banke had one customs-house. The trade between Gonda district in India and the Nepalese district of Deokhur passed over the Danduwa range⁸. There were altogether eleven passes which formed trade routes. The principal marts visited by the Nepalese in the Gonda district were Tulsipur, Puchperwa and Balarampur. The trade was mostly carried on by British subjects. No customs-house existed on the Nepalese side. The trade that passed between the North Western Provinces and the Western Nepalese Tarai was carried on between Basti in India and Butwal in Nepal⁹. Although trade suffered during the rainy season, a considerable amount of business was transacted during the cold weather¹⁰. There was one customs-house in Butwal along with subordinate Chaukis or posts. There was trade traffic also from Gorakhpur into Butwal which passed through 19 routes, the most important one, on the Nepalese side, being Palhi¹¹.

It is worth mentioning the main import and export goods passing between Oudh and the North-Western provinces and the Western Tarai of Nepal. Drugs, dyes, fibres, grains, spices, oil-seeds, hides, cattle, timber and firewood and metal were the major items of export from Nepal to India. Timber and rice constituted the major articles of export from Nepal to India. In 1876, the conservator of Forests of Oudh estimated that Nepal received about Rs. 600,000 from timber export to India from the forests lying between Bhagoura Tal and Arra Nulla, which was ceded to Nepal by the British in 1860¹². The report on the foreign trade of the North Western Provinces and Oudh with Nepal in timber for the year 1877-78 was valued at Rs. 548,193¹³. The same report shows that, during 1877-78, 6,61,986 maunds of grain valued at Rs. 12,25,584, were exported to India from the Nepalese Tarai. Out of this, 501,390 maunds consisted of rice alone (husked and un-husked). In his 'Monograph' on trade and manufactures in Northern India, which was published in 1880, William Hoey, officiating City Magistrate for Duty License and Tax Affairs, reported that, forty years before, Oudh drew all its brass, copper and iron from Nepal¹⁴. But the imports declined partly because of poor means of communication and partly because of restrictions put on exports from Nepal. In spite of this ban, the total export of brass, iron, and copper from Nepal, in 1877-78, was 3302 maunds, valued at Rs. 43,275. Out of this, iron fetched Rs. 36,956. Other metals valued at Rs. 17,222, were exported to India in 1877-78¹⁵.

Cotton manufactures (both Indian and European), salt, spices, tea, tobacco, and other articles like ghee, sugar (refined and unrefined) were the major exports from the North West Provinces and Oudh to Nepal.

The trade transacted at the Burmadeo market in Nepal, at the border, was both in the hands of British and Nepalese subjects. The internal trade of Nepal and places near Kumaon was managed by the Nepalese themselves¹⁶. The trade between Nepal and the Barailly district was carried on by the Nepalese up to their own border from where it was carried on by the British subjects. The trade passing between Kheri and Bahraich and the Nepalese territory of Naya Muluk, was conducted by Brahmans, Baniyas, and Muslims, all British subjects. As Nepali subjects were prevented by the Nepalese government from crossing into Indian territory to sell, Indian merchants visited the Nepalese merchants of Banke and Golamandi in Nepal. The trade between Gonda and the adjoining Nepalese markets was mostly in the hands of British subjects. The British Indian subjects were whole-sellers and the Nepalese were retailers. The trade of the districts of Basti and Gorakhpur and the Nepalese market-place of Butwal was carried on by the Irakees, Baniyas, Kalwars, Telis and Tharus. The British Indian merchants had their agents at Butwal. The territory of Naya Muluk, which was restored to Nepal by the British in 1860, flourished under the care of Jang Bahadur. Two important market-places were established by Nepal. One was Nepalganj, in the Banke district, and the other, called Golamandi, was at Golaghat in the same district. In order

to bring the entire Naya Muluk under cultivation and rehabilitation, the Nepalese government induced and encouraged British Indian subjects to settle in the new territory, by giving them many concessions like free grants of land, the exemption of taxation on goods sold for a particular year, etc¹⁷. With a view to populating the market-places at Banke, the Nepalese governments forbade its subjects to visit India to sell their goods. It also compelled British Indian subjects to go to the new Nepalese markets to dispose of their goods. An order issued to the merchants and other people of Jajarkot, Salyan, Dang, Phalebang. Pyuthen and Udayapur, required them to sell their goods in the Nepalganj market and not to visit Indian territory¹⁸. To compel Nepalese traders to sell their goods in the Nepalese markets, the government imposed a heavy duty on articles for export. A levy of 6 pais per rupee was imposed on all valuable articles, live-stock and other goods, besides a tax called chungi¹⁹. In addition, an export or transit duty called Mahsuli Nikasi was levied on goods exported to India²⁰. The result of this policy created hardship for Nepalese traders who used to sell hill-products in the Indian markets freely before the opening of these markets in Banke district. This policy, on the contrary, forced the Indian merchants to visit and to live in the Nepalese markets to get the hill-products which were in great demand. Consequently, the Indian traders had to live permanently in Nepalganj and Golamandi, deserting their former shops in British territory²¹. The Nepalese government seems to have earned the following average income through various dues²².

- i. Chungi (cess) from hillmen bringing their goods in the mart-Rs. 4,000/-
- ii. Mashuli Niksai (export or transit duty) paid chiefly by British traders Rs. 41,000/-
- iii. Chungi on English goods taken from British territory (exports) Rs. 3,000/-
- iv. Baithaki Mahsul (or permit to admit as traders) Rs. 500.
- v. Rent paid for shops by British traders located at Nepalganj and Golamandi Rs. 15,00.

According to one British trader, who used to trade at Golamandi, Rajapur, and other places in Naya Muluk, the import charge taken by Nepal on European cloth was 3 percent ad valorem²³. The duty on country or Indian cloth per piece or Than was between Rs. 1 and Rs. 3.24. The export duties on goods like red-pepper and catachu were between Rs. 1 and Rs. 6 per Nepali maund. The ad valorem import duty at Butwal ranged between 1 to 9 percent²⁵. It was confined to cotton goods. The duty on goods exported from Nepal to India through Butwal was not precisely recorded, became export trade from Butwal was discouraged by the Nepal government²⁶. Although the detailed tables showing the export and import duties are amply available particularly relating

to the then existing trade between Oudh and the territory of Naya Muluk, they cannot be produced here for want of space.

2. The trade between Bengal and Kathmandu was conducted via Champaran, Mazaffarpur, Durbhanga, Bhagalpur and Purnia in India and the Nepalese districts of Chitwan, Bara, Rautahat, Sarlahi, Mahottari, Janakpur, Morang, etc. The trade which passed between these districts is sometimes referred to as Bengal trade in the British records. It was this trade which gained importance in the Kathmandu Valley and eastern Nepal, from where it passed to Tibet. In other words the products of the Kathmandu Valley, along with the principal items of export from the eastern Nepalese Tarai, passed along these routes. Likewise, British goods that were imported into Nepal from Bengal and Bihar, passed through the border districts of Nepal. It is surprising to note that before 1875, no attempt was made even by the British government to register the amount of trade traffic passing through this sector. Due to paucity of records, it is very difficult to say whether the Nepalese government even attempted to register its trade with British India, though there were customs-houses in most of the border districts on the Nepalese side. In August 1875, the Financial Department, Government of Bengal, passed a resolution with a view to registering the trade passing into Nepal via Bengal. The resolution read:²⁷

"There has hitherto been no organised attempt made to register the amount of traffic between Bengal and Nepal. It is believed.... that traffic at certain seasons of the year is considerable, and it had recently been decided that a beginning should be made of registering this traffic.....".

Acting in accordance with the view expressed in the above-quoted resolutions, the Bengal government brought out a significant report based on data regarding the then existing trade between Nepal and Bengal. The trade registration from the 4th quarter of 1875 to the 2nd quarter of 1876, shows the total value of trade as Rs. 67,33,635 for nine months²⁸. Out of this trade, the traffic from Bengal to Nepal amounted to Rs. 32,33,496. Traffic into Bengal from Nepal was worth Rs. 34,80,129: the balance being Rs. 2,26,633. This shows that Nepal exported to Bengal more than it imported from there. The principal items, prominent in the list of exports from Bengal to Nepal, included raw-cotton, salt, sugar, cattle, and so on. Wheat, grain and pulse, rice, oil-seeds, timber, cattle, etc, were the principal items exported from Nepal which were responsible for the balance of trade in favour of Nepal in terms of money.

Writers like Daniel Wright and Clement Markham state that Jang Bahadur imposed a 12 to 14% duty on British goods²⁹. These views have been denied by Resident Girdlestone. In 1839, Hodgson estimated that for the main route, that is from Sugauli to Kathmandu, the duty was from 7 to 10% all round³⁰. But in 1875, when the entire trade traffic became a subject of enquiry, the views

held by the above-quoted writers were falsified by the official documents. The duty levied on the Indian goods imported into Nepal from Oudh and the North Western Provinces has been given above. The main complaint against the high duty concerned the trade passing between Bengal and the Kathmandu Valley. In 1876, commenting on the duty levied on British Indian goods passing via Sugauli, the then Collector of Champaran stated that the rates (duties) between Champaran and Nepal were "so light as to be quite unfelt"³¹. It may also be pointed out that, barring the trade traffic between Bengal and the Kathmandu Valley, nothing was known about the trade traffic passing between Western Nepal and Oudh before 1875. It was only in 1875, that the British government took the first step to register the trade between Nepal and India. In the light of this documentary evidence, the veracity of the annual trade figures given by Hodgson in 1831 should be questioned³².

The import and export trade passing between Bengal and Nepal was conducted both by British and Nepalese subjects. Thus the trade which passed between Champaran, in India, and Chitwan, in Nepal, was in the hands of Irakees, Kashmiris and Newars. The usual routes for trade between Champaran and Chitwan were via Tribeni, Raxaul, Sugauli, Kutnenwa and Chorasani. Trade between Mazaffarpur and the adjoining Nepalese Tarai districts of Bara, Rautahat, Sarlahi and Mahottari was conducted by the Marwaris and the Newars. The trade passing through Bhagalpur to Nepal was in the hands of Bengalis, Kulwars and Marwaris. Telis, Kulwars and Kayestha were engaged in the trade conducted between Purnia in India and Morang in Nepal. Timber was floated down the rivers Gandak, Kamla and Kosi, from Nepal to India³³.

3. Trade passing between Darjeeling and the border district of Ilam in Nepal, was not so encouraging. According to the information given by the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling (H.C. Wake) in 1864, the trade return between Nepal and Darjeeling for four years (1860-1863), amounted to Rs. 96,960. This resulted mainly from the sale of Nepalese goods. Out of this figure, the total export to Nepal from Darjeeling in the four years was Rs. 4,000, that is, Rs. 1,000 a year. The main items of export from Nepal to Darjeeling were blankets and cattle, which found a ready market in Darjeeling. The articles exported from Darjeeling to Nepal were various kinds of chintz. A small duty was levied at the frontier on the articles exported from Nepal. There were three main routes frequented by Nepalese traders to Darjeeling. The first route was via Ilam garhi in Nepal to a place called Nagree across the river Mechi. The second route was via Mayoong in Nepal to Goong, on the other side of the border. The last route was via Toonglong and Fulaloong in Nepal, to Samaboong across the border. In order to give a general idea regarding trade between Darjeeling and the border district of Nepal, two tables showing the export and import are given here, for the years 1860 to 1863³⁴.

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List of Articles Exported to Nepal

Names of articles :	1860	:	1861	:	1862	:	1863	:	Total
Various kinds of Chintz.	Rs. 1000		1000		1000		1000		4000

List of Articles imported from Nepal

Year	1860		1861		1862		1863		Total	
Names of articles	Qty	Price Rs.	Qty	Price Rs.	Qty	Price Rs.	Qty	Price Rs.	Qty	Price Rs.
Cows	300	2700	300	2700	300	2700	300	2700	1200	10800
Blankets	600	1800	800	2400	1300	3900	1300	3900	4000	12000
Oil(mds.)	250	3750	250	3750	250	3750	250	3750	1000	15000
Sheep	375	1500	375	1500	375	1500	375	1500	1500	6000
Goats	250	1250	250	1250	250	1250	250	1250	1000	5000
Pigs	125	250	125	250	125	250	125	250	500	1000
Knives	500	1000	500	1000	500	1000	500	1000	2000	4000
Ghee	500	6500	500	6500	500	6500	500	6500	2000	26000
Pieces of cloth measuring 16 yards	500	750	500	750	500	750	500	750	2000	3000
Iron	12	240	12	240	12	240	12	240	48	960
Copper plate	50	3300	50	3300	50	3300	50	3300	200	13200
Total		23040		23640		25140		25140		96960
Exported		1000		1000		1000		1000		4000
Net export in money		22040		22640		24140		24140		92960

The trade position between Darjeeling and the border district of Ilam in Nepal is not known after the above-mentioned years. In 1876 it was simply reported to be of "a very insignificant nature"³⁵.

FOOTNOTES

1. Revenue A, August, 1877 (Trade between British India and Nepal), No. 13 National Archives of India (N.A.I.) New Delhi.
2. 'Annual Report of the Administration of the Province of Oudh for the year 1872-73'. Lucknow: Oudh Government Press, 1873, p. 72, (Para 253).
3. 'Report on the Foreign Trade of North Western Provinces and Oudh during the year 1877-78' Allahabad: Oudh Government Press, 1878. (Trade with Nepal), Page 4 (Para 7).

Also see the 'Statement' of Import and Export goods from either country included in the same report.

4. Revenue A, August, op. cit., No. 22 (N.A.I.).
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. 'Report on the Foreign trade of North Western Provinces and Oudh during the year 1877-78' op. cit., p. 2 (Para 4).
11. Revenue A, August, op. cit., No. 22.
12. Ibid., No. 17.
13. 'Report on the Foreign Trade of North West Provinces and Oudh during the year 1877-78', op. cit., p. 7 (Para 10).
14. Hoey, William, A Monograph on Trade and Manufactures in Northern India. Lucknow: 1880, Part I, p. 10.
15. 'Report on the Foreign Trade of the North Western Provinces and Oudh during the year 1877-78', op. cit., p. 6 (Para 10).

See also the 'Statement' included in the same report.

16. Revenue A, August., op. cit., No. 22 (N.A.I.).

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The method of conducting trade, as discussed above, is based on this source.

17. See (i) An order from Prime Minister Jang Bahadur to Lieutenant Buddhinath Upadhyaya, regarding rehabilitation of the district of Kanchanpur. This order is dated Jestha Sudi 7, 1920, Vikram Sambat (V.S.). Refer to Register for V.S. 1920, kept in the Kausi Tosa Khana. ii) 'Annual Report on the Administration of the Provinces of Oudh 1861-76'. Section X-Political, p. 46 (Para 108).
18. See: An order issued by Prime Minister Jang Bahadur to the people of Jajarkot, Salyan, Dang, Phalabang, Piuthan and Udayapur. This order was issued on Baisakh Badi 7, V.S. 1920. Refer to Register for V.S. 1920, kept in the Kausi Tosa Khana.
19. Revenue A, August, op. cit., No. 15 (N.A.I.).
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid., No. 7. (Extract from the Proceedings of the Government of Bengal in the Financial Department).
28. Ibid., No. 22 (P. 31). External trade between Bengal and Nepal: Detailed statement showing the total exports and imports during the 4th quarter of 1875 and 2nd quarter of 1876.
29. i. Wright, Daniel, Sketch of the portion of the country of Nepal open to Europeans. Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, 1872, p. 28.

ii. Markham, C.R. Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet and Journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa. London: Trubner and Co., 1876, p. 158.
30. See: 'A copy of the statement of all the Custom and Transit duties leviable on imports and exports from and to the plains on the road via Hetounda and Bichakoh and at the capital,

received by the Resident from the Durbar, 3rd October, 1839'. This statement is incorporated in Resident George Ramsay's despatch of 18th February 1862. Refer to: Political A, December, 1862, Nos. 389-400 (N.A.I.).

31. Revenue A, August., op. cit., No. 22 (N.A.I.).
32. Political Consultation, 2 December 1831, Nos. 4-9. ("Report on the Trade of Nepal" prepared by officiating Resident, B.H. Hodgson, 28 October 1831). N.A.I.
33. Revenue A, August, op. cit., No. 22 (N.A.I.).
34. This information is based on the Despatch from the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling to the Under Secretary to the Government of Bengal, No. 277, 30th June 1864.

See: Political A, August 1864, No. 95 (N.A.I.).

35. Revenue A, August, op. cit., No. 22 (N.A.I.).

Book Department

A. Short Reviews

Siegfried Lienhard, Nevārīgītimañjarī, Religious and Secular Poetry of the Nevārs of the Kathmandu Valley; Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Stockholm Oriental Studies volume 10; Almqvist & Wiksell International, Stockholm, 1974; 332 pages. Price not stated.

This book is an important contribution to our knowledge of Nevār culture. In the West, Nevār art and architecture have been much admired and are beginning to be studied seriously. Little attention, however, has been paid to the rich literature of the Nevārs. In Europe, Hans Jørgensen played a pioneer role in Nevār literary studies, a role which was much appreciated in Nepal and was not without influence there. It is good to see that Mr. Lienhard is continuing the task in such a competent manner.

The inadequate catalogues and the few manuscripts published so far underline the fact that our knowledge of early Nevār literature is still scant. Mediaeval Nevār literature in what is, following Jørgensen, known as the "classical" language, flourished from c. 1350 up to about 1850 A.D. when it suffered heavily from Rāṇa disapproval. In this "classical" period, the most widely used alphabet in Buddhist as well as Hindu works was Nepālākhala. Practically all of this mediaeval literature is founded in works in Sanskrit. Bhaktagrāma (Bhatgaon) specialised in Hindu studies; Lalitapaṭṭana (Patan) in Buddhist texts, whereas at Kāntipura (Kathmandu) Buddhist as well as Hindu works were interpreted. Faithful translations were executed of religious, medical and scientific works, and many bi-lingual renderings of metric texts (Sanskrit and Nevāri) were accomplished. Free paraphrases formed a separate and important literary genre: the Utkṛṣṭas or Uddhṛtas which Mr. L. renders as "adaptations". Other genres which were popular in this period were the Vaṃśāvalīs (chronicles), the Purāṇas and Māhātmyas, the Epics (Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa), popular tales (kathā, bākhāna), Buddhist sūtras and vyūhas, Dharmaśāstra and Silpaśāstra, didactic poems and stotras.

During the Rāṇa period, and especially during the office of Juddha Samser, Nevāri was frequently persecuted and between 1940 and 1946 many important authors were sent to prison. In recent years a certain Nevāri literary renaissance has taken place. The Nepālhbhāṣā-Pariṣad, in particular, has encouraged many publications of varying kinds. This modern literature has largely abandoned many of the traditional forms. Short stories, poems and essays are now popular. Indian influence, however, has remained strong. Lyrics tend to be markedly Sanskritized, and literary Hindi (Khaṛiboli) influences prose-writers. In writing and printing this modern Nevāri, Devanagari is used. In his Introduc-

tion (p. 1-31) Mr. L. rightly stresses the importance of stanzaic poetry which, in his view, constitutes "a link" between the two main periods of Nevār literature. "The composition of religious hymns, secular songs sung in leisure periods or when at work, love-poems, narrative verses and so forth, has always flourished alongside classical prose-writing based on Sanskrit sources and it continued to do so in later times, when modern Nevāri came into use. As in other literatures, this poetry, mainly popular in character, naturally adhered to ancient and traditional models; and a fact especially worthy of note is that even texts of a comparatively late date tend, linguistically, to maintain a classical or semi-classical language. Today, a considerable number of hymns and songs are still in vogue amongst temple-musicians and some private singing-groups at Kathmandu, but strenuous efforts would be necessary to keep up as long as possible a once-flourishing tradition which, I am sure, will soon sink into oblivion" (p. 16-17). In fact the author's purpose in presenting one hundred hymns, poems and ballads in this well-printed anthology was two-fold: 1) "as far as possible to offer a representative selection from a poetry soon to become extinct" and 2) "to put into the hands of the learned reader compositions in Nevāri which neither translate nor paraphrase Sanskrit but which, in essence, are primarily Nevār" (*ibid*).

He has grouped the corpus into four sections. Religious poetry (p. 37-52) 2) Songs of love and marriage (p. 55-83) 3) Epic poetry (p. 83-123) 4) Didactic and enigmatic verses (p. 123-125). A certain amount of over-lapping in subject-matter and function between the sections was inevitable. The poetic compositions edited in transliteration and translated into English in this volume cover the period roughly from 1560 A.D. to 1911 A.D. and even later. Most are anonymous although this is not always the case. Many are dated, in the colophons. When this is not so, the author has been able to work out approximate dates of composition on the basis of stylistic and linguistic evidence. In all four sections many varied aspects of Nevār life are touched upon. The author is to be complimented on having sought to attract attention to "the old ways, usages and folklore of the Nevārs" (p. 20)". "Particularly valuable for our knowledge of Nevār society are the accounts of engagements, marriage and married life with its frequent collisions between hnyathu, the husband's first wife, and lithu, his second, of divorce, funeral rites and satī. Further points of interest are the bahray cone, i.e. the confinement of girls before puberty, and the practice of releasing pigeons when a patient has survived smallpox. Last, but not least, there are such minutiae as the different ornaments worn by females (tāyo, mukhuli, maichu, etc.), various objects of sacrifice and the tools and instruments used on special occasions (dhuli, etc.)" (p. 27).

While space precludes my commenting here on all the types of song, I would like to emphasize Mr. L's remarks on the sihnājyā songs, which were somewhat neglected by my friend Gopal Singh Nepali. Mr. L. writes: "To the most genuine patterns of true

Nevār poetry belong the so-called sihnājyā songs which are working songs and, on account of their predominantly narrative nature, appear in most instances in the form of what a Western reader would call a ballad. The proper occasion for chanting these poems was the time of sihnājyā, when Nepalese farmers transplanted the tender shoots of rice in the rice-fields. Most compositions of this type are composed in dialogue form, and the stanzas were usually sung by men and women alternately. The girls were then adorned with the red sihnājyā mark on their forehead. Not infrequently the air of the song is sprightly and gay and follows a specific tune called sihnājyā-rāga. The stories, sometimes funny, sometimes sad, relate all sorts of events and practical experiences and, what is exceedingly valuable, abound in particulars of social and domestic life, of the various rites, customs and practices of the Nevārs. As the sihnājyā work provided both sexes with a most favourable opportunity of mingling quite freely, many songs describe first love, flirtation, or even adultery" (p. 22).

Much of the poetry is intensely personal. In the love-poetry typical Indian similes are employed: eye and lotus, face and moon, etc. But some seemingly indigenous Nevār imagery is also apparent when, for instance, a girl's heels are compared to egg-shells, her calves to small cucumbers, her cheeks to omelets, her vulva to an oil-lamp, etc (p. 153). There is little punning, little ambiguity: but riddles and enigmatic expressions are much in favour. It seems that certain acrostics techniques may have been borrowed fairly recently from Maithilī or similar models.

The poems published here have been culled from two main sources: anthologies already published locally by Nevār compilers, and oral tradition. All the songs were sung to the author by Śrī Lokaratna Upāsaka. Most of the songs and hymns are taken from Thākurlāl Mānandhar's Pulamgu mye and Prema Bahādur Kasā's Matenāyā mye. Some poems are from Sugatadās Tulādhar's Malla Śāha kālayā me and ballads from Prema Bahādur Kasā's Bākham-mye. In one appendix (p. 240-242) are listed the tālas and rāgas as found in anthologies published in Nepal; in another (p. 243-248) two songs have been transposed tentatively into European musical notation. I was interested by the author's remark (p. 31, n. 9) that "with the exception of a few Indianized poems using Sanskrit metre, the rhythm of the Nevār songs is not determined by the number of syllables or syllabic instants contained in each verse-line, but is characterized by rather freely divided units of time". This can be compared and contrasted with what Mireille Helffer and I found for Nepālī sung verse. See "Remarques sur le vers Népalī chanté" in l'Homme, VIII, 3 and 4, Paris, 1968.

There is a good bibliography of both Nevāri and European works (p. 249-252) and the third part of the book (p. 255-332) contains a most useful glossary in which the author follows the order of the Hindi alphabet, abandoning the impractical order used by Jørgensen. Throughout the book, the notes to the texts and those which introduce each song are very helpful.

I regret that it was not deemed possible to print the English translations (p. 129-239) opposite the transliterated Nevār texts (p. 37-125). Mr. L. has aimed to provide faithful translations and "no time has been wasted in a vain endeavour to combine accuracy with beauty" (p. 31). In consequence some of his translations are somewhat wooden. For instance p. 156: "as long as there are no children the little (person) deserves to be slept with". There are few slips (p. 142: Burā Nīlakaṇṭha is said to be situated" in the eastern part of Kathmandu").

When will someone settle down to give us a solid etymological dictionary of Nepālbhāṣā and thereby help to fill one of the great gaps in our knowledge of Nepalese culture as a whole ?.

A.W. Macdonald

A. Patricia Caplan, Priests and Cobblers: A Study of social Change in a Hindu Village in Western Nepal, Chandler Publishing Company, 1972, 103 pp. with 8 tables, 6 illustrations, 2 maps and index.

The book is the first of its kind by a social anthropologist concerning Western Nepal although the field-area has been open to foreign anthropologists for the last two decades. The author is concerned mainly with the problems of social change taking place among two groups - the Brahmins, the top group in the Hindu hierarchy, and the Cobblers, the lowest in the social strata. A somewhat similar problem was dealt with by her husband L. Caplan in East Nepal (1970) but the confrontation observed there was not between untouchables and Brahmins but between Brahmins and the "Clean" caste group of the Limbus. The difference in the two works is that L. Caplan emphasized the economy of the tribe and their victimization by Brahmins whereas P. Caplan has given special importance to political groups and factions rather than to the total economic framework of the two groups.

In the past, the economy of various ethnic groups has been studied; but relatively few anthropologists have paid special attention to the political institutions of tribes. This is perhaps the consequence of the delicate nature of the subject. Again anthropologists have often envisaged political institutions in terms of structure rather than in terms of social change. In Nepal, this field of anthropology is almost unknown and those anthropologists who dealt with this subject have studied political institutions as an autonomous institution and have not studied factions as instruments of new social opportunity. P. Caplan adopts this perspective and has tried to analyse the politico-economic factors underlying social change in Duari village, selecting for study groups which are opposed in the Hindu - hierarchy. The author shows that, in the new panchayat democracy in Nepal, low-caste groups like cobblers can be of special interest to politicians although, in the strict Hindu hierarchy, they have no status at all. She has considered village politics in relation to national

politics and has also shown how the latter inspire changes in the former. First, let us examine briefly the contents of her book.

This work is the outcome of one year's field-work from January to December, 1969 in a village fictitiously named Duari. The author has also changed the names of the districts and the clan names of the groups. The village selected for study has a varied ethnic composition and numbers 1228 inhabitants, out of which 30.2% are Jaisi Bahuns, 14.7% Bahuns, 43.1% cobblers. The Magars who live just outside Duari village and who have played important roles in Duari village politics are not taken into consideration.

Five chapters are devoted to the village economy and politics. The introductory chapter introduces the theme of the study, the district, the village and its people. In chapters concerned with economy the author deals with the usual topics such as agriculture, grain deficit, etc. and there is nothing very new to attract the reader's attention. However, a letter written by a cobbler to his wife is well noted by P. Caplan (p. 42). If one reads this letter carefully, one can see clearly the real structure prevailing in Nepalese society. She also noted that economic independence and the mechanisms needed by the social units work towards the maintenance of the political system.

The changes which she observed in the space of two decades are bound to occur in developing countries, like Nepal. Likewise, the changes in terms of literacy, government, employment, shop-keeping, migration etc. are sure to happen even if the people themselves remain little changed. Society is bound to change according to the times. However, such changes have effected the cobblers the least, though there has been a slight change in their economy and in their political position. In the author's words, "members of each caste were able to exploit the new opportunities already predetermined by such factors as wealth and literacy" (p. 56).

In the "political" chapters she has shown that there are a series of groups which oppose one another. But these groups are to be found not in the group which are in the majority but in high-caste groups only. These opposed groups are linked within the society by various social relations but at the time of political crises they cut these ties. High-caste groups and government officers are co-related. So, the high-caste groups, which are linked together by kinship and employed in government offices, have clear political functions. At the end of the book, the author has considered the problem of the integration of the untouchables into the total system. In brief, political behaviour has been interpreted in the pattern of a descriptive ethnographic summary.

Some points concerning the structure of the groups remain obscure and this is particularly so when P. Caplan tries to equate Brahmins with Jaisi Brahmins. Brahmins in this study are a

negligible quantity. Jaisi Brahmins can never become priests and, among the Brahmins too, there are only a few who perform priestly services. So the ambiguity of a term like 'priest' in the title of the book is rather unsatisfactory. The structural localisation of the Jogis is also vaguely expressed in the monograph. If they do not wear sacred threads how are they to be placed in high caste groups? (p. 4). It cannot be claimed that they are the descendents of high-caste men and women. As our society accepts them, it is better to class them in the category of "clean" caste groups like Magar, Gurung, Newar and others. So the structures underlying situations of conflict within the total system which is concerned with maintaining social unity are presented in vague terms. It is always possible in a simple society and in Nepali village politics that political roles and norms are directly concerned with the safeguard of sectional interests. The basis of political association through kinship is well observed. It is also a known fact that by one or an other means, powers and privileges increase within groups or within the society as a whole when factions and cliques are most common. Here one sees that notions of prestige have been linked in terms of wealth and this clearly denotes political functions. The author interprets the relationship issues of local village to the higher country-level politics but little attention has been paid to the implications of religious tensions though there are two village temples clearly shown in the map (p. 9). Sometimes authority, structure and personality factors, and decisions concerning religious activities may provoke reactionary feelings within social groups P. Caplan had already underlined the reactionary feelings of the Brahmins when the 'Bhasa School' (p. 61) was opened.

I think that she has misunderstood the clan structure of the untouchables. They definitely do have clans which are exogamous and which play a dominant role in terms of marriage alliance. Most of their marriages are arranged and follow in most cases the typical Brahminical pattern with regard to the marriage ceremony.

A few statements like, "acute pressure on the land is the incidence of the high birth rate" (p. 24) require further clarification. It seems sometimes that P. Caplan has not observed the migration which is taking place throughout Nepal. "Opening shop is the perfect occupation of a politician" (p. 54) is a statement applicable only to three Ramas out of the 1228 people studied and "There is a wide disparity in grain incomes" (p. 29) is a statement which is true not only of one Duari village but of the whole of Nepal and our readers know this well.

In reality, the author has not shown clearly how, in the past, the cobblers were wholly dependent upon the Brahmins and how now this relationship has been broken. Throughout the monograph, it is nowhere shown that the cobblers have many important links with the Brahmins in an economic context, apart from the ploughman-relation service.

So, this book is a case study about the nature of conflicting relations; but how integrity is maintained within the traditional institutions is nowhere shown. It is well known that local factions and cliques, as she has observed them, are mainly the consequence of the newly-introduced voting system and a reaction to the Government's policies on village development.

D.R. Dahal

Excavations at Tilaurakot and Kodan and Explorations in the Nepalese Tarai, by Debala Mitra: Published by the Department of Archaeology H.M.G. Nepal, 1972: p., XIII, 262, index; 48 figures; 6 plans and maps, 158 half-tone plates; price, Rs. 30.00.

Very few sites in Nepal have earned the distinction of being excavated for archaeological research. The first such site to be dug in recent times is Tilaurakot, in the district of Kapilavastu, in the Lumbini zone. Excavations were conducted here in 1962 by the Department of Archaeology, H.M.G. in collaboration with the Archaeological Survey of India. This work has been followed by subsequent excavations at the site by the Department over many seasons - which gives it the double distinction of being an extensively dug site in Nepal. Its importance to Nepal and to the world as a whole can hardly be missed. Tilaurakot represents the site of ancient Kapilavastu, the capital of the Kingdom of Sudhodana, father of Gautam Buddha. The significance of the first discovery of the inscribed pillars at Nigalihawa and Lumbini at the close of the last century, establishing respectively the birth-places of Kanakamuni Buddha and Sākyamuni Buddha within the Nepalese borders has been great, these attracting the attention of Indologists and leading them to explore the rich-potentiality of archaeological research in this part of Nepal, in the 19th and early 20th centuries. The decision to commence work at Tilaurakot made by the Department of Archaeology H.M.G. should be praised.

The present report describes the results of the first excavations carried out at the site in 1962. It consists of three main parts as is evident from its title. The style of description and the arrangement of material is strictly in conformity with the standards laid down for report-writing of excavations in India. One hundred and forty-seven pages are devoted to describing the excavations at Tilaurakot. Beside the description of the lay-out of the site, the cutting of a trench and the sequence of deposits, an indepth study of antiquities has been made, accompanied by line-drawn and photographic illustrations. The site is situated on the Banganga, a rain-fed stream. It was covered with a thick forest which needed clearing before work could be started in it. A single trench 32 by 6m. was laid across the fortification in the northern part of the mound. This revealed a total of three phases. Period I represented the pre-fortification stage characterized by a few sherds of grey wares of excellent fabric, a preponderance of NBP ware, a limited percentage of black-and-red ware, and red ware. Period II marks the phase of building of the mud-rampart and

possibly the later addition of the brick-fortification-wall to it. Its pottery is not at variance with that of Period I, mainly because it is mixed up with the former as the filling material for the rampart was obtained by digging the habitational layers of Period I. As a consequence of this digging, a moat formed around the rampart. Period III marks the decay of the fortification and the end of the settlement at Kapilavastu. When Fa-hien visited it, in the fourth century A.D., he found the city 'like a great desert', and later on, in the seventh century A.D., Hiuen-Tsang wrote: 'the capital is overthrown and in ruins'.

The author has ably presented her material. But surprisingly she shows an ambivalence in dating the upper limit of the site. To illustrate this I will quote several of her sentences. 'In terms of pottery (p. 16 ff.).. it may be said that phase A of Period I was coeval with the occurrence, at the site, of the Northern Black polished ware (the absence of the ware in the fugitive layer 8 B need not be emphasized in view of the limited area under excavation)...But with all reservation necessitated by the extent of the trench it may be expedient to concede that the settlement of the town may go back to about the sixth century B.C., if not earlier (p. 15)...But the pottery of Period I here is not earlier than the third-second century B.C. which is the date of phase A of period I (p. 16)'. In an almost similar ceramic sequence encountered in a small trial trench at Banjarahi near Lumbini, Dr. S.B. Deo has no hesitation in fixing the upper limit of the earliest deposits there to the 7th-6th century B.C. (See Deo, S.B., Archaeological excavations in the Nepal Terai: 1964, Department of Archaeology, H.M.G., Kathmandu, 1968). It would have been extremely helpful if one could use the material dug up in the subsequent excavations of Tilaurakot to shed further light on the question of dating the upper limit of the earliest deposits there, but this material alas was destroyed in the Singhadurbar fire. One rather suspects that when the Tilaurakot report was finally made out in 1972, with great delay, Indian archaeologists had perhaps started talking about Piprahawa across the border in India as being the possible site of ancient Kapilavastu instead of Tilaurakot; and Mrs. Mitra's ambivalence in dating might reflect this changed stand. By dating Tilaurakot's earliest deposits to the 3rd century B.C. it is impossible to associate it with the times of the Buddha.

Most antiquities dug from the site, including the pottery, are compared to similar objects found from Period III and IV of Hastinapur. Similarity between the objects of these two sites may be due to the existence of a comprehensible report of Hastinapur for comparison, and a corresponding lack of similar reports on other excavated sites in north India. Bead-making at Tilaurakot has been recognised as a local and a highly developed industry. However, the range of their variety is the same as in other Indian sites. Excavations in the four mounds at Kodan revealed a group of two medieval temples, a well, and a brick platform in three phases of construction. The temples, dedicated to Siva,

were made of highly ornamental bricks. Their date, according to the author, seems to fall between the 9th and the 11th centuries A.D. The period of Kodan temple has been called a prosperous period of temple-building in this area, as is gathered from similar ornamental bricks lying in seven other sites noticed during the exploration of the area by D. Mitra. The present temple of Rumindei in Lumbini with the mutilated sculpture depicting the scene of the nativity belongs to this period.

The part dealing with the exploration describes the surface finds from thirty-six sites, of which twenty-one are new and fifteen revisited by author since P.C. Mukherjee reported them in the last century. The finds consist of old structures of bricks, pillars, sculptures, terracotta figurines and objects, coins etc. It is possible to see the influence of the Sunga, Kushana, and, in a single site (Lumbini), the influence of the Gupta and post-Gupta periods of India in this area on examining the diverse surface finds. This vindicates the richness of the area and should stimulate further research.

The appendix on pottery-making at Lausdiya, a small hamlet close to Tilaurakot, fails to serve any significant purpose for understanding the art of pottery-making acquired from the excavations. The most impressive part of the book is its detailed photographic documentation at the end running to one hundred and fifty-seven plates with most showing two illustrations each. It is undoubtedly an invaluable report which students and teachers of Nepalese archaeology will have frequent need to refer to. It is a welcome addition to the scarce literature on the field archaeology of Nepal and, like P.C. Mukherjee's report, will prove basic for doing further work in the area. The importance of the report will therefore enhance in future with the increase in research work in that area as it will be needed for checking, comparison and revision.

One more observation in conclusion. Many years were taken in the production of this report (compare the year of excavations with the date of writing the foreward by the Director of Archaeology, Nepal (1969) and the date when the book finally came out: 1972); but it is the only report on Tilaurakot excavations made available to the public so far and is therefore most welcome. Although the Department of Archaeology may have faced many snags in coordinating the work of report-writing between itself and the Archaeological Survey of India, which caused this enormous delay, this alone cannot explain why reports on subsequent excavations at Tilaurakot exclusively conducted by it have not been published. It is now reported that all the excavated material, including the drawings and photographs taken at the site at the time of the excavations, has been irrevocably lost in the Singhadurbar fire, and this points to the risk delay can cause in such work.

P.R. Sharma

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"History in Nepal: Reflections of a Working Historian", by Dr.
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Addresses, Speeches on Panchayat (in Nepali) - Vol. VII,
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२१८ आइ. एन. ए. एस जर्नल

पुस्तकहरू

आचार्य, शिवराज

नेपाली वर्णाञ्चारण शिदा

काठमाडौं, साफा प्रकाशन, २०३१

३४+४५६ पृ.

मूल्य १११२५

प्राचीन शिदाशास्त्रको पृष्ठभूमिमा आधारित गवेषणात्मक अध्ययन ।

खनाल, मोहन प्रसाद

मध्यकालीन अभिलेख ।

काठमाडौं, संकलक, २०३०

८८ पृ., चित्रफलक

मूल्य ५१-

वि. सं. १३७८ देखि १८२२ सम्मका केही अप्रकाशित अभिलेखहरूको संकलन । संकलित अभिलेखहरूको परिचय, अभिलेखको पाठ र व्याख्या समेत दिइएको छ । गवेषकहरूको लागि महत्त्वपूर्ण ग्रन्थ ।

जोशी, हरिराम

नेपालको प्राचीन अभिलेख ।

काठमाडौं, नेपाल

राजकीय प्रज्ञा-प्रतिष्ठान, २०३०

२४+६७५ पृ. १५२ अभिलेखको चित्रफलक

रु. ४८।७५

तिवारी, गोपाल निधि

नेपाली भाषाको बनोट ।

काठमाडौं, नेपाल राजकीय

प्रज्ञा-प्रतिष्ठान, २०३०

२०+३४० पृ.

रु. १०।४०

नेपाल राजकीय प्रज्ञा-प्रतिष्ठान (सं. र प्र.)

पचायवाची शब्द - कोश ।

काठमाडौं, नेपाल

राजकीय प्रज्ञा-प्रतिष्ठान, २०३०

१८७ पृ.

रु.

मूल नेपाली शब्द र त्यसको अर्थ संग गुरूड० चेपाड०, तामाड० थारू, दनुवार, नेवारी भोजपुरी, मगर, मैथिली, राई, लिम्बू, लेप्चा र सुनुवार भाषाको केही सीमित शब्दहरूको तुलनात्मक अध्ययन ।

बन्धु, ब्रह्मामणि

भाषा विज्ञान ।

काठमाडौं, नेपाल राजकीय

प्रज्ञा-प्रतिष्ठान, २०३०

१६+२३० पृ.

रु. १३१-

मुख्य वृंदाहरू: भाषा विज्ञान-सैद्धान्तिक विवेचन २. ध्वनि विज्ञान ३. वर्ण विज्ञान ४. व्याकरण ५. अर्थ विज्ञान ६. ऐतिहासिक भाषा विज्ञान ७. संसारका भाषा परिवार ८. भारोपेली परिवार १०. भाषामा परिवर्तन, भाषाको तुलना ११. लिपि ।

रेग्मी, जगदीशचन्द्र

नेपालको धार्मिक इतिहास । काठमाडौं, नेपाल
राजकीय प्रज्ञा प्रतिष्ठान, २०३०

१८+२२० पृ. १२ चित्रफलक ।

रु. ११।२०

मुख्यतः शिलालेखको आधारमा शुरू देखि यदामल्ल सम्म ।

वज्राचार्य, धनवज्र तथा श्रेष्ठ, टेक बहादुर

दोलखाको ऐतिहासिक रूपरेखा । काठमाडौं, नेपाल
र एसियाली अध्ययन संस्थान, त्रिभुवन विश्वविद्यालय, वि.सं. २०३१

१०+२०० पृ. अनुक्रमणिका

मुख्य वृंदाहरू:- १. बस्ती बसाई र देव मन्दिर २. राजनैतिक इतिहासको रूपरेखा ३. धार्मिक अवस्था ४. सामाजिक अवस्था ५. कला ६. अमिलेख ७. ऐतिहासिक पत्रहरू र सनद पत्र, चिठीपत्र आदि ८. ताडपत्रहरू ९. ठ्यासफू १०. हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थका ऐतिहासिक अंश ११. दोलखाली लोककथा ।

शाक्य, हेमराज

नेपाल लिपि - प्रकाश । काठमाडौं, नेपाल राजकीय
प्रज्ञा-प्रतिष्ठान, २०३०

१८+८५ पृ.

रु. ३५।३५

नेपालमा पाइने प्राचीन शिलालेख, ताम्रपत्र, भुजपत्र, ताडपत्र आदि हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थहरूको आधारमा तयार पारिएको गवेषणात्मक अध्ययन ।

लेख निबन्ध

आचार्य, लोकनाथ

“रक्षा वन्धन र यज्ञोपवीत” ।

गोरखापत्र, २०३१, साउन १६

पृ. ५

एक चाडपर्व वारे सामान्य जानकारी ।

उक्यात, धुक्तेन

“ओलांगचुडो गोला: एक परिचय” ।

गोरखापत्र, २०३०, चैत्र ५

पृ. ५ ।

२२० आइ. एन. ए. एस जर्नल

उपाध्याय, मुकुन्द शरण

नेपाली रूपावली ।

मधुमर्क, वर्ष ७, अंक १, वि. सं. २०३१ जेष्ठ

पृ. ११३ - १६ ।

भाषिक अध्ययन ।

के. सी. यदुनन्दन

नेपाल र राजसंस्था ।

गोरखापत्र, २०३०, पुस १५

पृ. ४ ।

गोरखापत्र

गीत गन्धर्व तर्फी ।

गोरखापत्र, २०३१, साउन ३०

पृ. ४ ।

नेपाली गाइनेहरूवारे संपादकीय टिप्पणी ।

गौतम, श्रीप्रसाद

रामेछापको घाम छायाः सिले घाटको शिला काप ।

गोरखापत्र, २०३०, फागुन १५

पृ. ४-५ ।

सामान्य चिन्हारी ।

गौतम, श्रीप्रसाद

सिन्धुलीः एक संक्षिप्त दर्शन ।

गोरखापत्र, २०३०, फागुन १३

पृ. ४-५ ।

परिचयात्मक निवन्ध । संदर्भगत केही ऐतिहासिक तथ्यहरूको चर्चा पनि ।

धिमिरे, सरस्वती प्रसाद

* गुठी शब्दको निर्वचन ।

धर्म-दर्शन वर्ष १, अंक १, २०३१ वैशाख

पृ. ४८-५१ ।

नेपाली गुठी शब्दको वनावट, अर्थ विचार एवं गुठीहरूको सामान्य परिचय प्रस्तुत

गरिएको छ ।

जोशी, हरिराम

* ओ मणिपद्मे हुं ।

प्राचीन नेपाल संख्या २४, २०३० श्रावण ।

पृ. २६-३१ ।

उल्लिखित णडकारी मन्त्रको महत्ता र ऐतिहासिक व्याख्या प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ ।

जोशी, हरिराम

दक्षिणकोलिग्राम - एक विचार ।

गोरखापत्र २०३१, मंसिर २२

पृ. ५ ।

काठमाडौं को प्राचीन नाम "कोलिग्राम" वारे गहकिलो अध्ययन ।

फा, भगवतराम

चांगु नारायणको उत्पत्तिको कथा ।

गोरखापत्र, २०३१, साउन १६

पृ. ६ ।

सामान्य जानकारी ।

थापा, विश्व बन्धु

चेपाडोहरू सँग केही दिन ।

मधुपर्क, वर्षा ७, अंक ५, २०३१, आश्विन

पृ. ७७-८६ ।

चेपाडो जातिवारे सांस्कृतिक, सामाजिक र भाषिक अध्ययन ।

"दीप", ध्रुवकृष्ण

आकाश मौरवः एक खुलदुली र खोज

गोरखापत्र, २०३१ असोज १४

पृ. ४-५ ।

"दीप", ध्रुवकृष्ण

"उज्जालो र रमाइलोको पर्व - तिहार" ।

गोरखापत्र, २०३१ कार्तिक २८

पृ. ४-५ ।

चाड - पर्व ।

"दीप", ध्रुवकृष्ण

"तान्त्रिक वाँद संस्कृतिको एक आकर्षक पक्षः पञ्जोपाय सिधान्त" ।

गोरखापत्र, २०३१, वैशाख २ गते ।

पृ. ४ ।

"दीप", ध्रुवकृष्ण

"नाग पंचमीः एक परम्परागत पर्व" ।

२२२ आइ. एन. ए. एस जर्नल

गोरखापत्र, २०३१, साउन ६

पृ. ४ ।

“दीप”, ध्रुवकृष्ण

पाटनको भीमसेन मन्दिर ।

मधुपर्क वर्षा ७ अंक ५, २०३१ आश्विन

पृ. १२३-१३०

सांस्कृतिक, धार्मिक र ऐतिहासिक चिन्हारी ।

“दीप”, ध्रुवकृष्ण

“रातो मच्छेन्द्रको रथ यात्रा र यसको प्रतिकात्मक पदा” ।

गोरखापत्र, २०३१, वैशाख १०

पृ. ४ ।

नेपालको धार्मिक र सांस्कृतिक पृष्ठभूमिमा गहकिलो अध्ययन प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ ।

“दीप”, ध्रुवकृष्ण

“लक्ष्मी र सरस्वतिका दुई प्रतिक” ।

गोरखापत्र, २०३१ असोज २६

पृ. ६ ।

सांस्कृतिक र धार्मिक अध्ययन ।

“दीप”, ध्रुवकृष्ण

“वज्र्यानी दर्शनको भोगवादी पदा: एक क्लफल ।

नेपाली त्रैमासिक, वि.सं. २०३०, साउन असोज ५६

पृ. ३०-३४ बौद्धधर्मको वज्र्यानी पदाबारे

विश्लेषणात्मक अध्ययन ।

“दीप”, ध्रुवकृष्ण

“वैराग र अनुरागको मिलनकेन्द्र: रातो मच्छेन्द्र ।

गोरखापत्र, २०३१ जेष्ठ १४

पृ. ४ ।

ऐतिहासिक, धार्मिक र सांस्कृतिक पृष्ठभूमिमा गहकिलो चर्चा ।

न्यापाने, गंगानाथ

“दराई जातिको लोक संस्कृति” ।

गोरखापत्र, २०३१ साउन १२

पृ. ५ ।

गंडकी अंचल अन्तर्गत मादी नदीको वारिपारि बसोबास गर्ने दराई जातिको सांस्कृतिक, धार्मिक र सामाजिक चिन्हारी ।

न्यापाने, देवज्ञराज

“राष्ट्रभाषाको रूपमा नेपाली भाषा” ।

मधुपर्क, वर्षा ७, अंक ५, आश्विन २०३१

पृ. ८७-९६ ।

विवरणात्मक निवन्ध । संदर्भगत केही ऐतिहासिक तथ्यहरूको चर्चा पनि ।

न्यापाने, रामचन्द्र

“हाम्रो शास्त्रीय र लौकिक परम्परामा राजा” ।

गोरखापत्र, वि.सं. २०३०, पुस १४

पृ. ४-५ ।

प्रकाश ए. राज

“नेपाली भाषा र २०२८ सालको जनगणना” ।

गोरखापत्र, २०३०, फागुन १२

पृ. ६ ।

जनगणनाको परिणाममा आधारित सामान्य अध्ययन ।

प्रधान, भुवनलाल

“काठमाडौं शहरका विभिन्न नाउँहरू” ।

गोरखापत्र, २०३१, जेष्ठ १२

पृ. ६ ।

ऐतिहासिक तथ्यहरूमा आधारित विश्लेषणात्मक अध्ययन ।

प्रधान, भुवनलाल

“नेपाल सम्बत् वारे केही यथार्थ कुरा” ।

मधुपर्क, वर्षा ७, अंक ५ आश्विन, २०३१

पृ. ११४-१२२

ऐतिहासिक पृष्ठभूमिमा गवेषणात्मक अध्ययन ।

प्रधान, भुवनलाल

“नेपालमा अशोक स्तम्भहरू” ।

गोरखापत्र, २०३१, असार ८

पृ. ५-६ ।

नेपाल तराईमा पाइने केही अशोक स्तम्भहरूवारे सामान्य चर्चा ।

प्रधान, भुवनलाल

“पशुपति मन्दिरः एक ऐतिहासिक कुलफल” ।

गोरखापत्र, २०३०, फागुन ८

पृ. ४-५ ।

२२४ आइ. एन. ए. एस जर्नल

ऐतिहासिक पृष्ठभूमिमा प्रस्तुत गहकिलो लेख ।

प्रधान, भुवनलाल

स्वयम्भू चैत्य निर्माण ।

गोरखापत्र, २०३०, चैत्र २४

पृ. ६ ।

प्रधान, भुवनलाल

सांखुको स्थापना ।

गोरखापत्र, २०३१ कार्तिक ३

पृ. ५-६ ।

सांस्कृतिक अध्ययन ।

प्रधान, भुवनलाल

हारती मन्दिर ।

मधुपर्क वर्ष ७, अंक २ वि.सं. २०३१ आषाढ

पृ. ६२-६६ ।

सांस्कृतिक र धार्मिक अध्ययन ।

पोख्रेल, बट्टी

हरितालिका एवं कृषिपन्चमी

गोरखापत्र, २०३१ असोज २

पृ. ४-५ ।

चाड पर्व ।

पन्त, नयराज

सेतो बाघको ऐतिहासिक परीक्षा ।

रूपरेखा, वर्ष १५, अंक १ पूर्णाङ्क १५७ वि.सं. २०३१ जेष्ठ

पृ. ६-४० ।

श्री डायमन शम्शेर राणाको 'सेतो बाघ' नामक उपन्यासमा उल्लिखित राणाकालिक तथ्यहरूको ऐतिहासिक पृष्ठभूमिमा विवेचना र मूल्यांकन प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ ।

पंत, भूपनिधि

प्युठानमा नेपाली भाषाको रूपरेखा ।

युगभाषा, वर्ष १, अंक ८, २०३१

पृ. ६-१२

सामान्य परिचय ।

भट्ट, महेश्वर शास्त्री

“श्री नन्दिकेश्वर महादेवको सम्बन्धमा” ।

धर्म-दर्शन, वर्ष १, अंक १, २०३१ वैशाख

पृ. १-७ ।

धार्मिक अध्ययन ।

भट्टराई, हर्षनाथ शर्मा

कामोपासना: एक मानव धर्म ।

प्रज्ञा त्रैमासिक, वर्ष ४, अंक १, वि.सं. २०३१ श्रावण

पृ. ७२-६४ वार्ता पृ. ६६ ।

सांस्कृतिक, धार्मिक र तान्त्रिक पृष्ठभूमिमा आधारित गवेषणात्मक अध्ययन ।

मिश्र, तारानन्द

“गणेश्वर तथा सिमरौन गढका मन्त्री र पुरोहितहरू” ।

प्राचीन नेपाल, संख्या २४, २०३० श्रावण ।

पृ. ३५-४२ ।

ऐतिहासिक अध्ययन ।

मिश्र, मनजुवाबु

“वास्तुकला: यसको शुरूआत र विकास” ।

प्रज्ञा त्रैमासिक, वर्ष ४, अंक १, वि.सं. २०३१ श्रावण

पृ. ३४-३८ ।

वास्तुकलाको उत्पत्ति र विकास वारे संक्षिप्त परिचय । अन्तमा नेपाली

वास्तुकलावारे चर्चा ।

राई, नोबल किशोर

“राईजाति: एक परिचय” ।

मधुपर्क, वर्ष ७, अंक २, वि.सं. २०३१ आषाढ

पृ. ६६-१११ ।

मुख्य वृंदाहरू:- १. किराँत र किराँतकाल २. राई जाति र यसको अर्थ ३. वसोवास र दोत्र ४. भाषा ५. आकृति र भेषभूषा ६. रीति - रिवाज ७. धर्म संस्कृति ।

राजवंशी, शंकरमान

“देवनागरी लिपिको विकास” ।

कलास, A Journal of Himalayan Studies. V.II, No. 1-2, 1974.

पृ. २३-११८

विषयसूची:- १. अक्षर तथा लिपि वर्णन २. लिपिको महत्त्व र त्यसको पठन पाठन ३. प्राचीन लिपि लेखन सामग्री ४. लिपिविकासको ऐतिहासिक सारांश ५. लिपि-

२२६ आइ. एन. ए. एस जर्नल

चित्रको देवनागरी उतार ६. संख्यालाई कहने अंक निधन्तु ७. लिपिपत्रमा परेका हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थको सूची ।

नोट:- उल्लेखित लेखको अंग्रेजीमा सारांश पनि प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ ।

राजवंशी, शंकरमान

“हाम्रा वणिमालाको महत्त्व” ।

प्राचीन नेपाल, संख्या २४, २०३० श्रावण

पृ. ३२-३४ ।

ऐतिहासिक, धार्मिक, सांस्कृतिक र भाषिक पृष्ठभूमिमा संक्षिप्त अध्ययन ।

राणा, धन शम्शेर

“कामकला रहस्य” ।

गोरखापत्र, २०३१ भदौ १५

पृ. ५-६ ।

तान्त्रिक पृष्ठभूमिमा कामकलाको भूमिका प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ ।

राणा, धन शम्शेर

“श्रीविद्याको रहस्य” ।

धर्म-दर्शन, वर्ष १ अंक १, २०३१ वैशाख

पृ. २६ ।

तन्त्रविद्या संम्बन्धी विशिष्ट अध्ययन । लेखक तन्त्र शास्त्रको आधिकारिक विद्वान

हुनुहुन्छ ।

वज्राचार्य, इन्द्ररत्न

“गुरु पूर्णिमा - एक परम्परागत पर्व” ।

गोरखापत्र, २०३१, असार २०

पृ. ४ ।

विवरणात्मक निवन्ध ।

वज्राचार्य, इन्द्ररत्न

वृढानिलकण्ठः एक परिचय ।

गोरखापत्र, २०३१, मंसिर २२

काठमाडौं उपत्यकाका एक धार्मिक स्थलवारे परिचयात्मक निवन्ध ।

वज्राचार्य, गौतमवज्र

यङ्गोल यम्बु

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पृ. ६०-६७

यङ्गोल हलाकाको ऐतिहासिक, सांस्कृतिक र भाषिक दृष्टिले क्लोटकरी वयान ।

शास्त्री, गोकर्णराज

आजको गुल्मी: स्थिति, प्रगति र समस्या ।

गोरखापत्र, २०३० माघ २८

पृ. ४-५ ।

मुख्य वृद्धाहरू:- धार्मिक स्थिति - राजनीतिक स्थिति-शिक्षा-स्वास्थ्य-कृषि-
विकास एवं निर्माण कार्यहरू-सांस्कृतिक संवर्द्धनका प्रयास ।

श्रेष्ठ, टेकबहादुर

पशुपतिका दुई ताम्रपत्र: देवदासी प्रथमा नयां प्रकाश ।

Contributions to Nepalese Studies. Journal of Nepal and
Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University

पृ. १०३-६ ।

सत्याल, यज्ञराज

‘नेपाली संस्कृतिको ऐतिहासिक पृष्ठभूमि’ ।

गोरखापत्र, २०३१, असार १५

पृ. ५ ।

सिग्दाल, सोमनाथ

श्री पशुपतिनाथ - मन्दिरको ऐतिहासिक परिचय ।

धर्म-दर्शन, वर्ष १, अंक १, २०३१, वैशाख ।

पृ. ८-१७ ।

सुवेदी, होमनाथ

कन्त्याल लोक संस्कृति - एक परिचय ।

मधुपर्क, वर्ष ७, अंक ६, २०३१ कार्तिक ।

पृ. ७१-८३ ।

म्याग्दी जिल्लाको लेकाली भाग कुइने, पलंपार, मल्कवाड गुर्जा, वाग्लुङ

जिल्लाको निसीमुजी, तमान, खैखानी, लामेला, मुस्ताङ जिल्लाको ताउलुङ, घांस,

र केही हदमा चिमला खोलाको आसपासमा बस्ने कन्त्याल जातिवारे सांस्कृतिक, धार्मिक
र सामाजिक अध्ययन ।

त्रिपाठी, वासुदेव ।

संघव सन्ध्या र आर्य जाति । (अनु कृष्णभदेव शर्मा, सन् १९७२ इ. जुलाई ४ को
आज वाट)

मधुपर्क, वर्ष ७, अंक ६, २०३१, कार्तिक

पृ. ८५-९१

तुलनात्मक अध्ययन ।